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J. P. Abernethy
T. C. Johnson

THE CAVALIER REMOUNTED

A Study of the Origins of Virginia's

Population

1607 - 1700

by

John Bacott Manahan

A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of Virginia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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1946

T H E
C A V A L I E R
R E M O U N T E D

A Study of the Origins
of
VIRGINIA'S POPULATION
1607 - 1700

b y

John Bacott Manahan, B.A., M.A.

Corcoran School of History
University of Va.

1 9 4 6

F O R E W O R D

If New England be called a Receptacle of Dissenters, and an Amsterdam of Religion, Pennsylvania the Nursery of Quakers, Maryland the Retirement of Roman Catholicks, North Carolina the Refuge of Run-aways, and South Carolina the Delight of Buccaneers and Pyrates, Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy Retreat of true Britons and true Churchmen for the most part....

This safe Receptacle enticed over several Cavalier Families, where they made many laws against Puritans, tho' they were free from them; which had this good Success, that to this Day, the People are as it were quite free from them, being all of the Church of England, without the odious distinguishing Characters of High or Low among themselves. - Hugh Jones (1724).

PREFACE

When the subject of the present study was suggested to the writer by Dr. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Richmond Alumni Professor of History at the University of Virginia, little did the former realize the intriguing character of the research entailed. We had, it is true, an awareness of numerous misty statements by writers, chiefly of the romantic school, to the effect that Virginia was the haven of swarms of Cavalier exiles in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This was coupled with a dim realization that in the last half-century or so many historians were adopting the view that the older writers had tended to overemphasize Cavalier influence in the Virginia colony, no doubt because the colorful character of the "few" known Cavaliers had made them more conspicuous than there was good reason for on the basis of their mere number.

A part of the enthusiasm imparted to the author in this study arose from his acute awareness of the utter lack of any well-organized study of ship lists of immigrants to Virginia in the seventeenth century similar to that for Pennsylvania German immigrants in the eighteenth century by Ralph Beaver Strassburger. John Camden Hotten's ship

lists are in no way complete for the seventeenth century. Research in this study has led to what is believed to be a more complete study and presentation of immigration by ships and by years and decades than has yet been made by any student of Virginia history.

In collecting and assembling the data here presented many friends of history in general and Virginia history in particular have given time and cooperation to the author without which the present study would have been an impossible task. Mr. John Cook Wyllie, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Alderman Memorial Library at the University of Virginia has been most helpful to the author in his work. Miss Louise Savage in charge of Acquisitions was instrumental in securing invaluable photoprints from the London Society of Antiquaries. Without the cooperation of Miss Roy Land and Mr. Francis N. Berkeley of the Alderman Library staff many fundamental items would never have been included in the present manuscript. Dr. Lorin Thompson, Director of the Virginia Population Study at Charlottesville, and members of his staff have lent valuable assistance in the statistical features included herein. Mrs. Nell Marion Nugent, Director of the State Land Office at Richmond, Virginia, and Mr. Van Schreven and Mrs. William Claiborne Pollard of the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library have been most cooperative with the author's sometimes unreasonable requests for

assistance.

To Professor Thomas Cary Johnson, Jr., Dr. Bernard Mayo, and Dr. Charles Julian Bishko of the University of Virginia School of History go the writer's heartfelt thanks for many hours of patient reading and criticism of the manuscript and of the author's conclusions, with helpful suggestions for improvement. Also to Dr. James Hart, Dr. George W. Spicer, and Dr. Rowland A. Egger of the University of Virginia School of Political Science go the writer's acknowledgements of sincere, unbiased, and helpful appraisal of modes of presenting the material amassed.

Last, but by no means least, is the wish of the writer to express in a manner which can only be inadequate some of the admiration entertained for the kindly patience with which Dr. Thomas Perkins Abernethy has read and reread the unvarnished manuscript, overlooking with genial indulgence certain of the views of the writer in which he does not join, but at the same time imparting to the whole work by wise alterations a modicum (it is believed) of worth that would have been lacking had the writer refused to yield to superior wisdom in the historical field. In the hope that the present work may stimulate interest in systematic collation of the scattered records of colonial Virginia the present manuscript is submitted.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA

Page v - In preparing the Preface, through an oversight, the author failed to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered by Miss C. W. Evans, Librarian of the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia, and members of her staff, notably Mr. John Leohhead. To Dr. Richard L. Morton, Editor of the William & Mary Quarterly, Williamsburg, Virginia, go the author's sincerest thanks for criticism and assistance in locating valuable ship lists. For aid in obtaining records of the London Company, the author wishes to express gratitude to the Honorable Harry Flood Byrd, Washington, D.C., who has ever shown himself a true friend of historical research in his native state.

Page 1, line 21 - "romantic" for "Romantic."
Page 3, line 8 - Omit "just."
Page 24, line 27 - Begin new paragraph with "Political..."
Page 48, line 14 - Although "Penderell" is not consistent with "Pendarell" (page 14, supra), both forms are equally correct. Hume, the historian, preferred "Penderell."
Page 78a - Insert Map, Barbados in the Seventeenth Century with Names of Owners of Plantation Houses (from Harlow, History of Barbados, Oxford, 1926). Add to list of Maps (page x, supra).
Pages 86-87 - Chart of Immigration to Virginia should be listed with Charts (page xi, supra).
Page 128, line 22 - "had come" for "came."
Page 176, lines 14-15 - "The Colonial Church in Virginia" for "Colonial Clergy in Virginia."
Page 256, line 18, "Possibly" for "Possiby."
Page 303, line 37 - "came" for "come."
Page 310 - Omit first entry of ship 'CHARITY.'
Page 316, line 26 - Insert "and sailed" after July 26, 1669, on line 27.
Page 344, lines 2-3 - Reverse descriptive remarks on John Hambden and Col. Hambden.
Page 365, line 16 - Change "their" to "his."
Page 368 - Illustration, The Welchmans Inventory, from original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London; add to list of illustrations (page ix, supra).
Page 378 - Remove asterisk from "Bayford" (county Herts).
Page 391, line 1, "A.L. Rowse" for "A.A. Rowse."
Page 391, line 38 - "H.D. Traill" for "H.D. Trail."
Page 394 - Insert after line 26, "Middleton, Arthur Pierce, 'The Chesapeake Convoy System, 1662-1763,' The William and Mary Quarterly, III (April, 1946), 182-207, 204-207 (list of ships in convoy)."
Page 395 - Names of all periodicals should be underscored.

John E. Manahan

Scottsville, Virginia
August 29, 1946

THE CAVALIER REMOUNTED

CHAPTER ONE - THE CHALLENGE TO THE THEORY OF VIRGINIA SETTLEMENT BY CAVALIER EXILES FROM ENGLAND

Perhaps no aspect of the history of colonial Virginia has given rise to more spirited intellectual debate than the old controversy centering about the character of seventeenth century society. British historians, American historians, and numerous Virginians - historians and laymen - have expressed opinions on this subject which vary all the way from the assertion that there were no political refugees in Virginia in 1652 to statements by serious historians that there were in fact "thousands" of Cavalier exiles who flocked to the colony.[1] When these extreme points of view are expressed by such sound scholars and distinguished men as Samuel Rawson Gardiner on the one hand and Woodrow Wilson, ably seconded by Reuben Gold Thwaites and Matthew Page Andrews, on the other, it becomes evident that either some wide variance in definitions must have existed or that there was insufficient concrete evidence concerning Cavaliers in Virginia to enable historians to express much more than preconceived notions gleaned either from Romantic fiction glorifying the early settlers or from "debunking" articles authored by American dupes of European deprecators of American respectability.

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1. See Appendix I.

Indeed, it would not be a serious exaggeration to aver that a careful comparison of the views of all the writers who have expressed themselves on the vexed "Cavalier question" would engender in the reader as hazy and indistinct a notion of the picture of Virginia population in the seventeenth century as is the picture of Virginia's true geography created by the subjoined chart of John White, who, though he indubitably mapped against great odds, might just as well have been Ananias himself, instead of just his father-in-law.

Emphasis on the plebeian element in Virginia's population is probably traceable to William Stith, who gave an early picture of Virginia as a penal colony. Over one hundred years after Stith the Massachusetts antiquarian, Whitmore, in his The Cavalier Dismounted reechoed the plebeian theory of Stith, Samuel Johnson, and various European newspapers, which stated that the citizens of the United States were descendants of jailbirds, the "offspring of the vagabonds and felons of Europe." [2] Daniel Defoe and Mrs. Aphra Behn in the field of creative literature and Malachy Postlethwayt, author of treatises on commerce, contributed not a little to European hauteur toward Virginians in particular and Americans in general.

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2. John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (2 vols., Boston, 1902), II, 210, citing William H. Whitmore, The Cavalier Dismounted (Salem, 1864).

In 1910 a native-born Virginian, the distinguished Dr. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, secured widespread credence in the "plebeian" or "indentured servant" interpretation of Virginia colonization as a result of the publication of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Virginia under the title Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia.[3] Professor Carl Lotus Becker in 1915 expressed views closely paralleling those of Dr. Wertenbaker, and in 1925 Professor Harold Underwood Faulkner, writing for Harper's Magazine in an article entitled "Colonial History Debunked" stated:

> Probably more liberties have been taken with the truth as regards the history of Virginia than with that of any other of the colonies. One of the most persistent bits of fiction regarding the Old Dominion is that a goodly proportion of its wealthy families emanated from the nobility of England and came to Virginia in the years after the decapitation of Charles I....
>
> The colonial Virginian stock was, in fact, primarily recruited from the lower middle and poorer classes in England - those groups whose economic position at home was hopeless.[4]

So neatly had the spadework been done by the foregoing half-dozen or so of writers, several of them men of no mean distinction, that Dr. Wertenbaker saw fit in 1927 to make

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3. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910).

4. Harold Underwood Faulkner, "Colonial History Debunked," Harper's, CLII (December, 1925), 84-5.

the bald statement:

> The widespread belief that during the years from 1645 to 1660 Virginia was the refuge of large numbers of English Cavaliers is entirely without foundation in fact; but had wealthy adherents of the unhappy Charles I flocked thither, the tobacco plantations would in a few generations have transformed them from Cavaliers into Marylanders and Virginians.[5]

Whitmore, Becker, Faulkner, Wertenbaker, Hawk, Hecter, and Hesseltine have emphasized the fewness of Cavaliers in Virginia. Other writers, among them Rev. Hugh Jones, early professor of mathematics at William and Mary College, Mary Tucker Magill, Thomas Nelson Page, Mary Johnston, Carrie Hunter Willis, and Lucy S. Saunders, while stating that some Cavaliers came to Virginia, have left to the reader's imagination the number of them which actually arrived.[6]

The list of authorities who assert that many Cavaliers came to Virginia is long and imposing. They are, for the most part, native Virginians, it is true, but the list includes no less than four Englishmen, headed by Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, who wrote much of his History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England while the events were actually taking

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5. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The First Americans, 1607-1690 (New York, 1938), 306.

6. For these and other authorities cited who have expressed opinions on the vexed question of the Cavaliers in Virginia see Appendix I, infra.

place. His comment in this connection is highly significant:

> More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir William Berkeley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighborhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkeley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found anywhere else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission and found as ready an obedience.[7]

Although Robert Beverley, the Virginia historian whose work appeared in editions of 1705 and 1722, made no specific mention of Cavaliers as exiles to Virginia, he admitted

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7. Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England (Oxford, 1843), 788.

universal adherence to the King's cause in the colony. John Daly Burk, F.L. Hawks, Henry Howe, Timothy S. Arthur, W. H. Carpenter, Henry Cabot Lodge, John Esten Cooke, R.A. Brock, John A. Doyle, Dabney Herndon Maury, John Fiske, Royall Bascom Smithey, Francis Newton Thorpe, Lyon G. Tyler, Henry William Elson, John W. Wayland, H.G. Wells, Evarts Boutell Greene, Ira M. Gast, Homer C. Hockett, and the Britishers Charles Firth, Francis Charles Montague, Sir John Marriott, and Sir Charles Petrie are in accord that many Cavaliers came to Virginia. Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard asserts that the report of the Parliamentary commissioners after the surrender of Virginia stated that Berkeley was strengthened "by those unhappy gentlemen that helped to ruine themselves and their King." [8] Thus it is apparent that Virginians and Britishers, both Cavalier and Puritan, have acknowledged as a fact that many Cavaliers came to Virginia. In view of this Marcus W. Jernegan,[9] Charles M. Andrews, [10] and John W. Wayland and Rose M.E. MacDonald [11] might well have made some comment upon Cavalier exiles to Virginia instead of leaving the matter untouched as they did.

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8. Mary Newton Stanard, The Story of Virginia's First Century (Philadelphia, 1928), 218.
9. Marcus W. Jernegan, The American Colonies, 1492-1750 (New York, 1941).
10. Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (4 vols., New Haven, 1937).
11. John W. Wayland and Rose M. E. MacDonald, A History of Virginia for Boys and Girls (2nd. Revised edition, New York, 1943).

At least four historians have boldly solved the problem so as to leave no doubt in the minds of their readers; Reuben Gold Thwaites, D. G. Fisher, Woodrow Wilson, and Matthew Page Andrews have asserted roundly that thousands of Cavaliers sought refuge in Virginia upon the death of their beloved King. Andrews makes clear that these refugees had lost much or all of what they had possessed in England; in doing so he adroitly erects a bulwark against the argument that "indentured servants" were necessarily the offscourings of the English lower classes.

In view of the manifest inconsistencies of the writers who have expressed themselves on the subject of Cavaliers in the Virginia colony, the present author will attempt to examine the factual basis of the problem in the light of materials now available and ascertain to what extent refugee adherents of King Charles, whose death warrant with pictures and signatures of the regicides is subjoined, made up the population of colonial Virginia. In doing so it will be necessary to bear in mind the treacherous quicksands which beset the careful, not to mention the unwary, investigator. Census figures for the seventeenth century are at best deceptive, if not unreliable; immigration statistics are far from satisfactory. These facts are so, not because the Virginians feared, as did their pious New England neighbors on the authority of I Chronicles xxi that the wrath of an angry God would follow an enumeration, but rather because of an omnipresent Death that lurked

THE MARTYRDOM OF

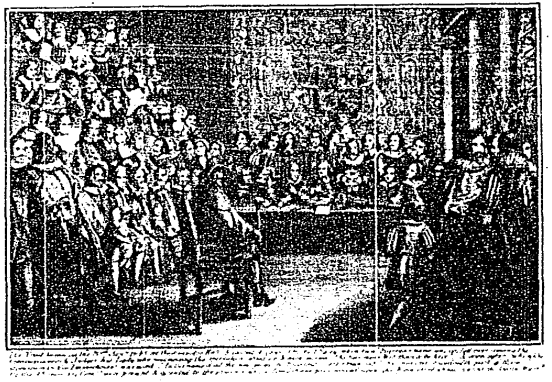
Charles the First, King of England,

WHO WAS BEHEADED ON THE 30TH JANY 1648/9

In the 49th Year of his Age. & the 24th Year of his Reign.

John Bradshawe.

THE TRIAL.



Henry Ireton.

At the high Ocr of Justice for the cryinge and indgings of Charles Steuart Kings of England January xxxiith Anno Dni 1648./

Whereas Charles Steuart Kings of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of high Treason and other high Crymes And sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Ocr to be put to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wth sentence execution yet remayneth to be done. These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the Thirtieth day of this instant moneth of January betweene the houres of Tenn in the mornings and ffive in the afternoone of the same

Facsimile of death warrant, from original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London.

Facsimile of death warrant, from original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London.

this instant month of January between the hours of Nine in the morning and five in the afternoone of the same
Day with full effect And for doeing this shall be yor sufficient warrant And these to require all Officers and Soldiers
and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assisting unto you in this service Given under our hands and
Seals.

To Colonell Francis Hacker Colonell Hewson and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and Everyone of them.

Jo. Bradshawe
Tho. Grey
Cromwell
Edw. Whalley

Rainsey
John Okey
Danvers
Jo. Bourchier
W. Goffe
The Maulsenier

Har. Waller
John Blakiston
Hutchinson
Wallis
Thomlinson
Pi. Temple
Harrison
Mewson

Hen. Smyth
Pete. Pelham
Ri. Deane
Robert Tichborne
Jam. Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Willm. Garroway
Jo. Scrope
James Temple

Garland
Tom. Hateley
Henry Martin
Wm. Constable
Rich. Ingoldesby
Will. Cawley
Jo. Barkstead
Waa Ewer
John Dowell
Fabulous Wauton

Symon Mayne
The. Horton
Jo. Jones
John Bowne
Gilb. Millington
G. Fleetwood
J. Hewet
Robt. Lilburne
Will. Say
Anth. Stapley
Ge. Norton
The. Challener

The. Wogan
John Dove
Gregory Clement
Jo. Carew
Cyrill Wyatt
The. Scot
Jo. Carew
Mich. Cobbet

THE EXECUTION.

Oliver Cromwell.

The Scaffold was erected in the street before Whitehall. The King having taken off his cloak, said, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be given." He then gave his Watch to Juxon, Bishop of London, pronouncing the word "Remember." At one blow his head was severed from his body. A mean as it was purchased the office of Executioner.

Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Printed, True dived & Sold at Sayer & Printed by J. Setterthill.

London Pub'd by J. Setterthill's Lithographic Establishment, 8 Newman St. Oxford St.

in malarial swamp and crowded hold alike. Indian, fever, famine, and mutiny took constant toll of the living. Fire and corruption played havoc with such records as were kept. When all the factors of destruction are taken into account, it is indeed surprising that so much has remained of source material for the period in question. With the publication at government expense of Susan Myra Kingsbury's four volume work, The Records of the Virginia Company of London [12] a vast quantity of material relating to the settlement of America's oldest English colony was preserved in lasting form. Land office records and manuscript collections amply supplement Kingsbury's work, which carries the story of Virginia no farther than 1624, when the charter of the London Company was revoked. From the records which remain it is possible to reconstruct a fairly accurate picture of the society that constituted the population of seventeenth century Virginia.

Before any consideration can be given to the more concrete aspects of the controversy, it is desirable to determine upon definitions of the terms "Cavalier" and "Puritan" that will be acceptable for the purposes of this study. It will be noted that Dr. Wertenbaker, in the passage quoted above, [13]

12. Susan Myra Kingsbury, The Records of the Virginia Company of London (4 vols., Washington, 1906-1935).

13. Supra, page 5.

commenced with the statement that large numbers of English Cavaliers did not in fact come to these shores. He then made a subtle shift to "wealthy adherents of the unhappy Charles I," who, he asserted, would in a few generations, had they come, inexorably have succumbed to the almighty tobacco. If we are to accept Dr. Wertenbaker's own definition of the term Cavalier, we find him unwarranted in employing the adjective "wealthy":

> Much confusion has resulted from the assumption, so common with Southern writers, that the English Cavaliers were all of distinguished lineage or of high social rank. The word "Cavalier", as used at the time of Charles I, denoted not a cast [sic] or a distinct class of people, but a political party. It is true that a majority of the gentry supported the king in the civil war, and that the main reliance of Parliament lay in the small landowners and the merchants, but there were many men of humble origin that fought with the royalist party and many aristocrats that joined the party of the people. Amongst the enemies of the king were the earls of Bedford, Warwick, Manchester, and Essex, while many leaders of the Roundheads such as Pym, Cromwell, and Hampden were of gentle blood. Thus, the fact that a man was a Cavalier or a Roundhead proved nothing as to his social rank or his lineage. [14]

The above passage, with which many other writers concur, should be sufficient to dispel any misty notions that the Cavaliers constituted a moneyed caste or a class of wealth. That many of them had possessed landed estates in England and had lost them in the Civil War is undoubtedly

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14. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910), 3, relying upon John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (2 vols., New York, 1897), II, 12.

true, but as the generalization cannot be stretched to apply to all Cavaliers, it is not a valid criterion for purposes of definition. For the purposes of this study the term "Cavalier" will be employed to refer to a member of that political faction which supported the Stuart Kings in their struggle with Parliament from 1642 to the Restoration in 1660; it goes without saying that not all of the Cavaliers were of azure blood; every social group which takes pride in its self-styled gentility acquires its share of hangers-on. Not all of them were wealthy by any means; many had known better days long ere divine right kingship was challenged. Those who owed their affluence to the King's bounty down to the Civil War witnessed in most cases the shipwreck of their estates in that conflict. Not all of the Cavaliers were educated, although this is less easily demonstrated than the previous statements. Many English yeomen stood loyal to their King, whose armies consisted for the most part of stout yeomen from West of the River Severn, and doubtless more than one educated gentleman was thankful after the fateful fields of Marston Moor and Naseby for overnight shelter in the barn of a West Riding Yorkshire yeoman or a midland farmer, who, though he possessed little learning, like Kentish Sir Byng

> Stood for his king,
> Bidding the crop-headed Parliament swing. [15]

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15. Robert Browning, Cavalier Tunes (Boston, 1906), first printed as "Cavalier Tunes; Marching Along" in Bells and Pomegranates (London, 1841-6)III.

Indeed King Charles II himself after Worcester took refuge at Boscobel with the farmer Pendarell, who was as staunch a Cavalier as the proudest English gentleman.

As a political group the Cavaliers stood united in their support of Charles I and his son of the same name. Along with their support of the monarchs went staunch adherence to the Anglican Church; they believed the English had done right

> When Henry the Eighth left the Pope in the lurch
> The People of England made him head of the Church.[16]

Cavaliers did not scorn to wear fine clothes and impressive jewelry. They danced and were not averse to imbibing spirituous liquors. Not a few of them (notably the soldiers of fortune) employed oaths and imprecations. They took delight in seeing a good play acted and this predilection for drama was passed on to their descendants, notably George Washington. A few of the more educated Cavaliers were, like Sir William Berkeley, author of "The Lost Lady", which did not particularly impress Samuel Pepys when he saw it for the first time in London, composers of dramatic works of their own.

A collector of quitrents in colonial Virginia; an Anglican vestryman or clergyman; the possessor of fine clothes, a silver-hilted sword, or a diamond ear-ring; a card-player,

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16. Inscription below George I's statue on the steeple of St. George's Church, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, designed by Hawksmoor and consecrated in 1731. The last two lines read;

> But George's good subjects, the Bloomsbury people
> Instead of the Church, made him head of the steeple.

gambler, or devotee of horse-racing; an importer of wine; an habitually profane person; an author of plays; a ballad-monger; a professional actor; an elegant dancer or a participant in Maypole or other country jigs and dances - all are types of individuals to whom the label of Cavalier may be applied in seventeenth century Virginia society without fear of substantial error.

Having thus defined and explained the scope of the term "Cavalier," one is more readily able to give intelligible meaning to the term "Puritan". Originating as a religious designation applied to reformers within Anglicanism itself who denounced Papists, High-Tories, and Prelates alike, it underwent a metamorphosis into a political term referring to the supporters of the Commonwealth. Arch-Puritans in the religious sense regarded their fellow-Presbyterian as "old Priest writ large," [17] but Arch-Puritan and Presbyterian alike took the Covenant. Without either faction, the Commonwealth would probably have lacked a broad popular basis. Puritanism admitted of as many shades as there were degrees of disaffection for the King and all his works. One might be accused of Puritanism who was merely a low churchman; however, if he carried his disaffection to the point of supporting Parliament against the King, then his Puritanism was undoubted.

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17. Referring to the Greek "Presbuteros" meaning "priest." Cf., Presbyter Johannes, Prester John, or "John the Preest."

This is the true basis of the definition of the political term "Puritan." An individual in England in the 1640's and 1650's was either a loyal subject of the King or he was not. Catholics excepted (legally there had been no Jews in England since Edward I's expulsion of them in 1290), all anti-Cavalier groups in England made common cause against the King and his Church. They made up the Puritan political party in its widest sense.

Some have advanced the ingenious thesis that Puritans may be recognized by the prevalence of Biblical names among them. [18] It is true that the incidence of Biblical given names may have been higher among Puritans than Cavaliers, but the names as such constitute no sure criterion for separating the swans from the geese (e.g., "Isaac Cavalier," who came to Virginia in 1650). The theory might be better stated negatively: few staunch Puritans can be found who, after 1640, bestowed the names James and Charles upon their offspring. It is manifestly absurd to think that the Cavaliers, who had their own King James I to thank for the Protestant version of the Bible, would studiously have avoided christening their children with Biblical names. However, the religious element was more frequently than not present in the given names of Puritans both in England and in the colonies. Nathaniell Barnardistone,

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18. See page 137, infra.

father of the first Roundhead and a Puritan in the Long Parliament, may have been so named because the letters rearranged spell "Born-in-an-all-sainted-heart". England had its Praise-God Barebone [19] and Virginia can point to Obedience Robins, as well as to Temperance, Lady Yeardley. Although a name smacking of Puritanism need not mark its bearer as of that persuasion, it was usually an indication of Puritan or low-church leanings somewhere in the family of the bearer.

Puritans as a group were rarely incumbents of appointive offices under the Stuarts prior to the Restoration. Described by some writers as the middle class which had its origin under the Tudors, Puritans savored of the counting house and were more engaged in mercantile pursuits, by and large, than were Cavaliers. They did not as a rule become Anglican vestrymen, though in rare instances a person of low church leanings might serve as vestryman or churchwarden. Plain life, unostentatious clothing, and austere morals characterized the Puritan, who frowned upon elegant dress, dancing, cards, liquor (e.g., Increase Mather, who penned Wo to Drunkards), profanity, and professional acting. To describe the Puritans as the dregs

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19. His family appears to have acquired early the penchant for pious names, as as early as 1626 we find "Feargod Barbon" as witness to the will of that worthy Northamptonshire gentleman, Sir Euseby Isham, progenitor of Thomas Jefferson.

of society who envied the Cavaliers for their social position and wealth would be to give an incorrect impression. It would be nearer the truth to state that the Puritans felt that their innate respectability qualified them more for the exercise of governmental power than did the "riotous living" of the Cavaliers. Many Puritans, particularly in East Anglia, could boast of blood as pure and ancient as that of the proudest Cavaliers; but as the Cavaliers received a numerous accession of would-be aristocrats grasping the coat-tails of the high nobility, who enhanced the prestige of the party much as the lees improve the flavor of wine in the cask, so the Puritans gained a kind of froth at the top of their party in the form of envious and discontented members of the high nobility who supported Parliament from love of self. Both accessions contributed greatly to the misunderstanding of each party by the other and paved the way for the final compromise in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

It is of interest to note that the terms Cavalier and Roundhead both originated as terms of reprobation.[20] None knew better than Charles I that the Puritans meant by Cavaliers that motley assortment of brutal and carousing soldiers of

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20. For an enlightening comment on the party names, see Henry Thomas Buckle, Introduction to the History of Civilization in England (Robertson edition, London, 192-?), 371, notes 3 and 4.

fortune whose misbehavior, as in the case of Lord Goring, all but disgraced the King's party with respectable folk. Rapin de Thoyras tells us, on the other hand, that the Queen, looking out of her window and seeing Samuel Barnardiston, who as was characteristic with the London apprentices, wore the hair of his head cut round, cried out, "See what a handsome young Round-head is there." The name originated thus, and was first publicly used by Captain Hide, who, when walking near Westminster Hall, drew his sword, saying that he would cut the throats of those "Round-Headed, cropp'd-ear'd Dogs that bawled against the Bishops." [21]

Those were times of fierce emotions and frequent clashes; the enemy of one's enemy was welcomed as friend; even those who limit the quarrel in the Civil War to the middle and upper classes of English society [22] admit that for every man there was now a freedom of choice between the two factions. Alignment on the "right" side transcended mere social position, and as can readily be seen, a Cavalier, by the definition already adopted could be a servitor or retainer; a Puritan could be a gentleman. If ostentation characterised the Cavaliers as a group, it was largely because the serving-men who were also King's-men aped their betters; if simplicity characterized the Puritan party, on the other hand, it was

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21. M. Rapin de Thoyras, History of England (4 vols., London, 1743), II, 403.

22. Cyril A. Robinson, England, A History of British Progress from the Early Ages to the Present Day (New York, 1939), 271.

because the gentlemen who were Puritans thought that God must have loved the common people because he made so many more of them. A Puritan gentleman of this stamp, Colonel John Hutchinson, Parliamentary governor of Nottingham Castle, member of the Long Parliament, and one of the notorious regicides in 1649, was described thus by his wife:

> He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, and curling into loose great rings at the ends....He was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had a great love of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly;....he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off; he was wonderfully neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant; for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension; he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldome overcome; everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained; he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people;...he was very patient under sickness or pain, or any common accidents, but yes, upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had

> even in that such a grace as made him to be feared, yet he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently and effectually, without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered, for indeed, his judgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself; but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand; he was not talkative, yet free of discourse; of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, and an early riser when in health; he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so; in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. To sum up, therefore, all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepared for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor. [23]

Such was the Puritan gentleman described by one who knew him best. Of Cavalier gentlemen and Cavalier yeomen there is much more to be said than can possibly be unfolded in the course of this study. Let it suffice for the present to observe that out of the English background of the Stuart period and from the great human reservoir of gentry, townsmen, and yeomen emerged the colony of Virginia. Founded under the first Stuart, its formative years witnessed the reign of the second Stuart, the Commonwealth, and the reigns of the second Charles and second James. Long romantically referred to as

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23. Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson (London, 1885) I, 32-35, quoted in "A Puritan Gentleman," Elizabeth Kimball Kendall, Source Book of English History (New York, 1928), 225-227.

a stronghold of Cavaliers, Virginia has of late been subjected to a barrage of levelling criticism. The clarion of challenge to the Cavalier in his retreat has been sounded, and proponents of the "plebeian theory" make common cause with worshippers of the "proletariat" to pull down the temple of false pride erected by a later generation of Virginians and to relegate to the scrap-heap the feudal "rubbish" perpetuated by pseudo-aristocrats and parvenu plantation owners.

If it be true, as Virginia Moore has recently put it, that Virginia is "a state of mind," then it may be that reverence for aristocracy of birth, as a fundamental element in Virginia society, can be traced continuously from the 1650's, when the proud but economically shattered remnant of Merrie Feudal England fled from a victorious religio-commercialism and sought to perpetuate itself in the New World. The scholars who have espoused the plebeian theory have minimized the importance of the Cavalier immigration to Virginia in the seventeenth century. It is the purpose of the present study to examine whether the facts warrant such cavalier treatment.

CHAPTER TWO - SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND; FACTORS CAUSING EMIGRATION; SOUTHWEST ENGLAND, THE STRONGHOLD OF ROYALISM

As early as 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote a pamphlet on the Northwest Passage in which he suggested the desirability of founding a home for needy Englishmen beyond the seas; this mode of disposal of the poor was one which found support rather widely among higher circles of thinking Englishmen. Although at the turn of the seventeenth century England's population was not more than four and one-half million, there was a general feeling that she was overpopulated. The poor were crowded in the city slums or roving as sturdy beggars on the Queen's highways. To deny that economics played a large part in English overseas expansion would be to essay a fruitless battle of the windmills.

An attempt to glean from various authors the chief motives which led to overseas colonization in the 1600's on the part of England has yielded the following list, which does not profess to be complete:

i - Desire of the English merchant class for the acquisition of trading centers;

ii - Desire of the English ruling class for the acquisition of naval stations; this was favored by the merchant class as it would serve to protect English trading vessels;

iii - Desire of the English ruling class for encouragement of English shippers and mariners in aggrandizing English prestige throughout the world;

iv - Desire on the part of all Englishmen to secure a source of raw products, especially timber, to replace the ravages of deforestation since the Conquest;

v - Desire of the English trading class for securing an English market overseas for English goods;

vi - Desire of the powerful naval and military interests for reservoirs of manpower and strategic areas for attacking Spain and the Spanish empire in the New World;

vii - Desire of English religious enthusiasts to secure stations for missionary enterprise in converting the heathen and from which to propagate the Gospel;

viii - Desire of the English mercantile class for the acquisition of profits;

ix - Desire of individuals in poor economic circumstances for an easier and more prosperous life;

x - Land hunger of the country gentleman class in England;

xi - Desire of nobles and gentry to secure an outlet for their younger sons;

xii - Desire of dissenters for a calm refuge from religious persecution;

xiii - Desire of persons not actually persecuted for an escape from Anglican conformity and its rejection of predestination.

When to this formidable list of motives is added the factor of political persecution with its attendant economic discriminations, it becomes manifest that slum derelicts and sturdy beggars could have constituted only a fraction of the total number of persons in seventeenth century England who desired to remove their habitations to the New World. Political struggles are usually waged most bitterly between the most educated and intellectual leaders of two party groups within a country. There existed at that time in England persons who were of the conviction that the King could do and had done wrong.

The most fanatical members of this party had of necessity to be educated persons, versed in the common law of England, in order to defend with rational arguments their extreme and "traitorous" views. Likewise, Thomas Hobbes (though his standing with the Royalists was later compromised) and men of his stamp resorted to subtle arguments to defend with ardor equalling that of his opponents the King's inflexible maintenance of divine right. Latinity far above the heads of the mass of yeomen entered the argument, and rex dei gratia and bellum omnium contra omnes in the absence of the sovereignwere countered with salus populi suprema lex and vox populi vox dei. Political tracts, such as Hobbes's Leviathan, attracted widespread attention in the years following Charles's decapitation.

If the leaders of the people could make the head of a king roll in the dust, they could certainly harry his friends out of the country. Nor is it surprising that many stiff-necked Englishmen preferred emigration to remaining in the immediate power of a monarch who declared:

> That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will, that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy scriptures, and the general

Hobbes's Leviathan

> meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside in any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be in the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. [1]

Men of education and standing would be among the first to be outraged by such a pronouncement, then as now. Other men of education and standing, whose views in religious matters coincided with those of the monarch, would be among the first to rally to his defense. When the political and religious facets of the controversy crystallized under James I's successor, nothing remained but resort to open hostilities. This occurred in 1642. At that time many persons began looking to and seriously thinking of the prospect of settlement in the New World - persons who had hitherto regarded emigration as rather unbefitting their station in life.

In 1606 King James had announced that all Englishmen settling in the New World were to have all the rights and privileges of Englishmen and were to enjoy the protection of the common law precisely as Englishmen at home did. This liberal attitude toward colonists, dictated largely, no doubt, by James's military and naval advisers, who were eager to develop a center of English power against Philip on the North

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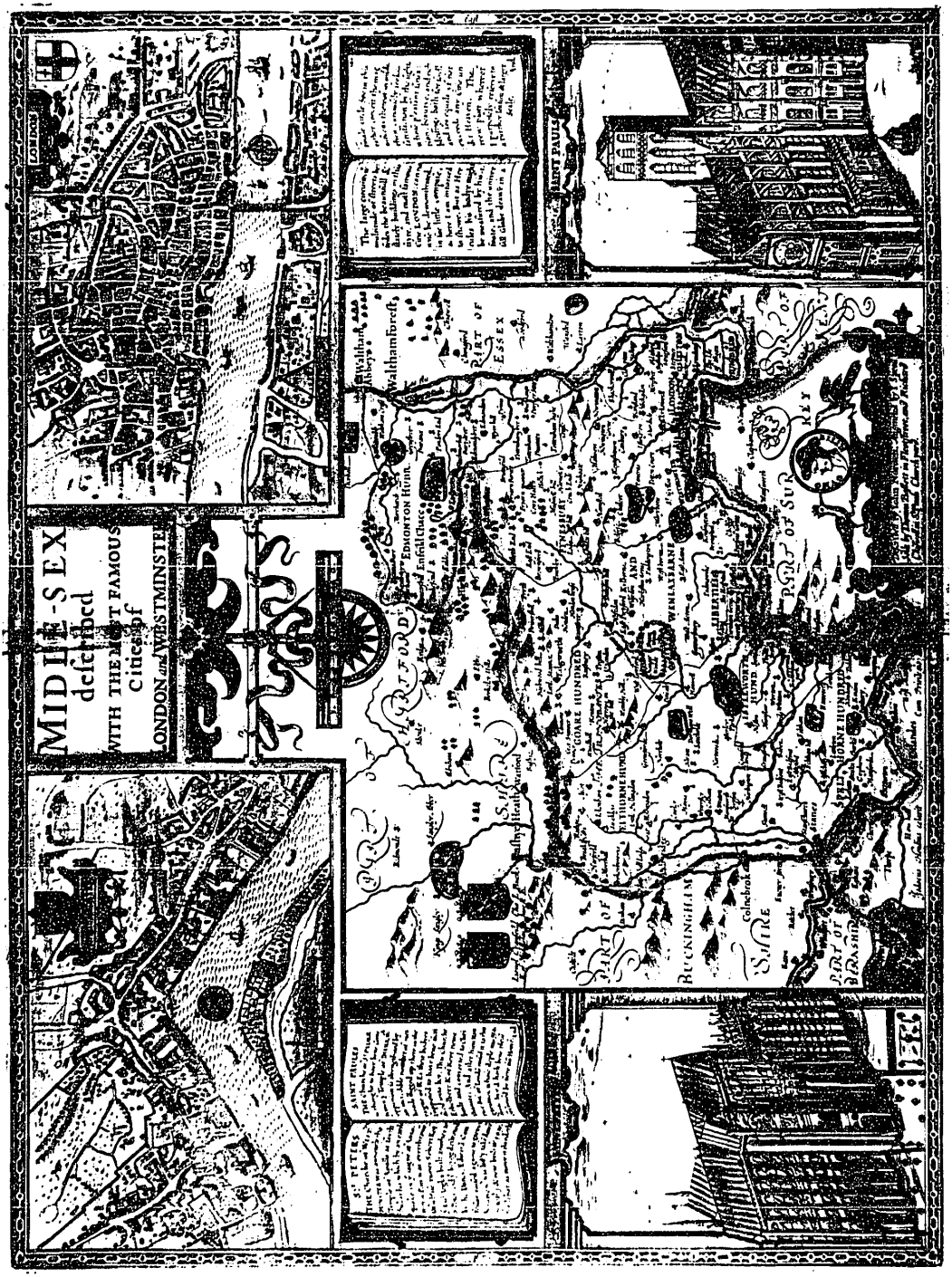
1. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660 (Oxford, 1906), "The King's Declaration Prefixed to the Articles of Religion" (November, 1628), commonly printed with the Book of Common Prayer, 75-6, 76.

American continent, led to the development in the English colonies in America of concepts of liberty quite impossible under the Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch systems. The Virginia Company of London, chartered in 1606 and backed by Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Smythe, governor at various times of the East India, Muscovy, and Levant Companies, spent £200,000 in the settlement of the Virginia colony up until the securing by Sir Julius Caesar of the revocation of the Company's charter in 1624.

After 1629 Puritans in England were persecuted by Archbishop Laud. In the following year the Cambridgeshire Puritan gentlemen who had reached a deadlock with Laud on the question of predestination landed at Salem Harbor and established the colony of Massachusetts Bay. In the decade between 1630 and 1640 some 16,000 Puritans left England for Boston, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and elsewhere. During the same decade more than three times as many Englishmen who were not Puritans left the country for America and the West Indies. Most of these emigrants, Puritans and non-Puritans alike, were from East Anglia, which suffered a severe depression in 1630 because of dislocation of the cloth trade on the continent due to the wars being waged and the resultant slump in wool prices.

The phenomenal growth of the city of London was one of the most pregnant social facts during the late Tudor and



John Speed's map of Middlesex and London, 1676

early Stuart periods. From approximately 90,000 inhabitants in 1558 it grew to 250,000 in 1601 and reached 339,000 in 1634. The increase was indubitably due more to migrants from the shires attracted by the great urban magnet than to additional births within the city proper. The rising aristocracy of wealth in and about the metropolis found forceful leadership after Charles's arbitrary dissolution of Parliament in 1629 in a small group of business men and wool-country squires, headed by the parvenu Earl of Warwick, Robert Rich, nephew of Elizabeth's favorite, Essex. Rich had imbibed deeply of Puritan founts during his formative years at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

From 1629 to 1640 the Calvinistic Anglicans who suspected Laud of popery gravitated to the Puritan camp. In 1637 the Scottish people entered into a Covenant for the defense of their religion - fire and brimstone Presbyterianism with all the bag and baggage of predestination. King Charles, who was attempting to govern without Parliament, fell a victim of the rock and whirlpool of the Scylla of Puritans at home and the Charybdis of Presbyterian Covenanters in Scotland. When he attempted to break the terms of the Treaty of Berwick of 1639, by which the Scots had gained the advantage of him, they invaded the North of England with the blessing of the Puritan leaders: Pym, Fiennes (Lord Say and Sele), and Warwick. In extremis, Charles

summoned Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, from Ireland. The Short Parliament of 1640, controlled by King Pym, was dismissed by the King within a month, and Strafford was forced to pay the Scots tribute by the humiliating Treaty of Ripon of that year. King Charles was refused a cash loan by the merchants of London, the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and the Bank of Genoa. When he arbitrarily seized the money deposited in the mint by the London goldsmiths and all of the pepper in the East India Company's warehouse, business failures became frequent and a universal financial panic was imminent.

The King again resorted to a summons of Parliament, and the Long Parliament which lasted in theory from 1640 to 1660 assembled. Three factions were in evidence: Pym's majority, which wished to retain the state Church with the substitution of Parliamentary Commissioners in the place of bishops; Presbyterians; and Congregationalists. The question of the command of the army came up, and it is thought that in the old manor-house at Fawsley in Northamptonshire, where earlier Sir Richard Knightley, patron of Puritans and great-grandfather of Samuel Barnardiston (the first Roundhead), had harbored the Martin Marprelate Press, [2]

2. See William Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts; A Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England (New York, 1909).

A LIST

OF THE

Impriſoned and Secluded Members.

ARundell.
Aiſcough Sir Edward.
Anſlow.
Aſhton Sir Ralph.
Aſhurſt Sir.
Aſſen Matthew.
Alford John.

Bowyer John.
Brown Major-Gen.
Biddoph Michael.
Birch John.
Bond John.
Baker John.
Boord Herbert.
Brook Major.
Benlowes Sir Robert.
Booſh Col.
Bainton Edward.
Buckley John.
Bunnow Morris.
Beddingfield Anthony.
Button John.
Bridges Humphrey.
Birch.
Brown Sir Ambroſe.
Boughton.
Buller Fran.

Cheek Sir Tho.
Clotworthy Sir John.
Copley Lionell.
Crew John.
Cholmley Sir Henry.
Corbet Sir John.
Campion Henry.
Clinton Lord.
Curſon Sir John.
Chettle Sir Fran.
Cranborne Lord.
Cicill Robert.
Clark Sam.
Carre Lord.
Cleen Tho.
Charlton Robert.

Deyley John.
Dickers.
D'Ewes Sir Simon.
Dacres Sir Thomas.
Davis Col.
Drake.
Duddridge.

Eveling Sir John, ſenior.
Eveling Sir John, junior.
Eveling George.
Erle Thomas.
Erle Sir Walter.
Edwards William.
Elliſon Robert.
Erle Eraſmus.
Elford John.
Egerton Sir Charles.

Fitz-Williams Lord.
Fiennes Nathanael.
Foxwill William.
Floyd John.
Fiennes James.

Gennings.
Gell.
Glyn Recorder.
Green Gyles.
Gerrard Sir Gilbert.
Grimſton Sir Harbottle.
Geffe.
Gell.
Gewen.
Gallop George.
Gettick.
Gaudey.
Grimes.
Gardiner.

Hollis younger.
Hoskins.
Herbert Philip.
Hungerford Henry.
Hobby Peregrine.
Harlow Col.
Harlow Sir Robert.
Hollis Denzill.
Holcroft John.
Honor George.
Hodges Thomas.
Herbert James.
Herbert John.

Ipſley Sir John.
Jones William.
Irby Sir Anthony.
Jepſon.

Kile Walter.
Knatchpoole Sir Norton.
Kambell James.

Lewis younger.
Lifter Sir Martin.
Lucken Capell.
Langton William.
Lumley Sir Martin.
Lee Sir John.
Leigh Col.
Liſter Sir William.
Lucas.
Lane.
Litton Sir William.
Lewis Sir William.
Luke Sir Sam.
Luke Oliver.

Moore Tho. Wiltſ.
Maynard Sir John.
Maynard Iohn.
Mountague George.
Maſſey Major-Gen.
Moore Sir Poynings.
Merrick Sir John.
Middleton Sir Thomas.
Middleton younger.
Middleton Suſſex.
Morgan William.
Martin Sir Nicholas.
Moore Thomas.

Naſh John.
Needham Sir Robert.
Nichol Antho.
North Sir Dudley.

Owen.
Onſlow Sir Richard.
Onſlow Junior.
Ozenden.

Pots Sir John.
Povey Thomas.
Pierpoint William.
Pyle Sir Francis.
Pickering Colonell.
Parker Robert.
Pelham Henry.
Price Richard.
Parker Sir John.
Partridge Sir Edward.
Poole Sir Nevell.
Poole Sir Edward.
Pelham Sir Thomas.
Pelham younger.
Parkhurſt Sir Robert.
Platers Sir William.
Parker Sir Philip.
Pye Sir Robert.
Palgrave Sir John.
Peck.
Prinne William.
Pym Charles.
Preiſtley.

Ray William.
Ravenſcroft.
Rogers Hugh.
Richards Charles.
Ratcliffe John.
Rolls John.
Roſe John.
Ruddiard Sir Benjamin.

Shepcott.
Spencer Sir John.
Spring Sir John.
Snow.
Strode William.
Springham Herbert.
Stapleton young.
Soame Sir Thomas.
Stephens Edward.
Swinſen John.
Sands.
Selden John.
Scutt.

Thomas Edward.
Tufton Sir Humphrey.
Thomas Eſay.
Tate Zouch.
Twiſden.
Tertick Sam.
Thomas of Devon.
Temple Sir John.
Temple Thomas.
Thyn Thomas.
Thelwell Simon.
Trenchard Sir Iohn.
Thiſtlewayt Alex.
Trefuſis.
Tolſon.
Trevor younger.
Trevor Sir Thomas.

Udall Sir William.
Vane Sir Henry.
Vowell Sir Edward.
Vaughan Charles.
Vowell younger.
Vaſſall.
Vaughan Edward.

Winwood.
Wingate.
Waller Sir William.
Wheeler.
Wyn Sir Richard.
Wenman Lord.
Walker Clement.
Waller Thomas.
Waddon John.
Wills Henry.
Whitehead.

Yelverton Sir Henry.

From original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London

"the scheme of depriving the crown of the command of the militia and the right to make war and peace was debated and matured." [3] This debate culminated in the "Militia Ordinance" of March 5, 1641/2 [4] which provoked the King in his "Proclamation Condemning the Militia Ordinance" of May 27, 1642, [5] to declare that Parliament was raising his subjects in "warlike opposition" against him. In the summer of 1642 hostilities began between the King and what remained of Parliament after a majority of the peers and a minority of the commons had withdrawn to join the monarch.

In the First Civil War of 1642-43, as can be seen from the appended map, the South and East favored Parliament and the North and West favored the King. Thirty peers took the side of Parliament and the gentry was divided in every shire. A small minority of the squires in East Anglia sided with the King and the bulk of his armies was composed of stout yeomen from West of the Severn. At the end of 1643 Parliament held a solid diagonal belt across England from Kent to Lancashire. In the East it held a strip of the coast from north of Hull in the East Riding of Yorkshire through the major portion of Lincolnshire to a narrow V south of the River Trent at Newark.

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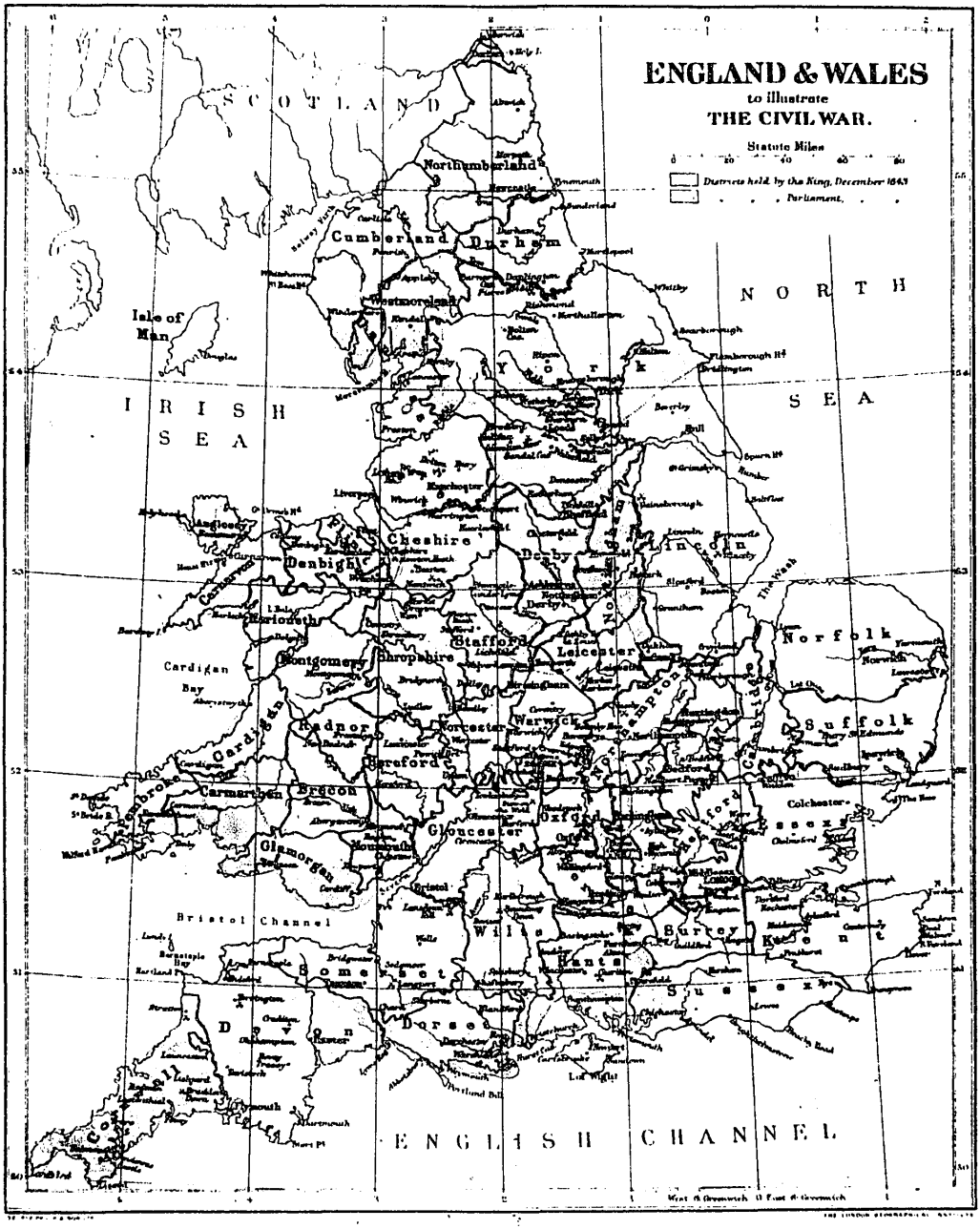
3. Stanley J. Weyman, "Oliver Cromwell's Kinsfolk," English Historical Review, Vol. VI (1891), 48-60, 52.
4. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660 (Oxford, 1906), 245.
5. Ibid., 248.



Longmans Green & Co London New York Toronto Bombay Calcutta & Madras

From F. C. Montague, The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Restoration (1603 - 1660), (London, 1905).

Cheshire, Stafford, Warwick, Northampton, Buckingham, Surrey, and Sussex formed roughly the Western edge of Parliament's territory. Southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, with the isolated towns of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Plymouth held for Parliament. Bristol had yielded to the King after the siege of 1643. The Royal Party held Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Durham, most of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, but not the town, and Nottinghamshire, but not the town. Wales in its entirety (except for the area around Pembroke), Shropshire, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Gloucestershire but not the town, Oxford, Berks, Hants, and all shires to the West (Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall) remained loyal to the King except for the shipping town of Plymouth in Devon, Salisbury in Wilts, and two small coastal areas in Dorset, one including Lyme Regis. The isolated town of Lichfield in Staffordshire and Catholic Cavalier pockets in Lancashire held out for the King likewise.

John Richard Green, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D. H. Montgomery, Robert Vaughan, and A.L. Smith, among others, have given attention to the sectional alignment in the First Civil War. They are in substantial agreement. Gardiner says that the richest part of England, the south-east, took on the whole the side of Parliament; the poorer and more rugged

north-west took on the whole the side of the King. [6] Montgomery makes the split even simpler; he says that the eastern half of England was with London and against the King and the western half was for him. [7] Vaughan and Green are somewhat at variance. Vaughan rather over-emphasizes the authority of the King in Derbyshire when he says that the four northern counties and Shropshire, Derbyshire, Worcestershire, and Oxfordshire acknowledged the authority of the King almost without opposition. But more questionable is his statement that the whole of the West, too, ascending from Cornwall to Hampshire, Berkshire, and Hereford was kept with little exception by the great families and gentry from any open measures against the King although the people in those parts were so much in favor of the Parliament that the royal cause obtained little assistance from that extended portion of the island. [8]

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6. Samuel R. Gardiner, A Students' History of England (3 vols., New York, 1913) II, 537.

7. D. H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History (Boston, 1886), 122.

8. Robert Vaughan, Revolutions in English History (3 vols., London, 1867), III, 267. Italics used are those of the present author. The more usual interpretation is that it was the Parliamentary majority in the town of Plymouth that immobilized the Western forces for the King.

John Richard Green more nearly hits the nail on the head when he says:

> Nowhere was the royal cause to take so brave or noble a form as among the Cornishmen. Cornwall stood apart from the general life of England: cut off from it not only by differences of blood and speech, but by the feudal tendencies of its people, who clung with a Celtic loyalty to their local chieftains, and suffered their fidelity to the Crown to determine their own.[9]

A.L. Smith has given what is perhaps the most thorough analysis of the split in the Civil War. He first asks whether the dividing line was social, geographical, or religious, whether the difference was one of classes, districts, or sects; and he concludes that of the three a class distinction is the most superficial and misleading. To analyze the conflict as one between districts, as the Wars of the Roses had been, is inadequate in Smith's opinion. He asserts that it was the religious issues involved that gave to the struggle its abiding interest and elevated and dignified local rivalries, class antagonisms, and the battle for constitutional liberties. The country squires he terms "the core of the Royalists." But the King's party, he concludes, was made up of elements too incongruous to work together.

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9. John Richard Green, History of the English People (4 vols., New York, 1878), III, 219. How accurate Green is in his appraisal is apparent from the fact that at this period there were still many in Cornwall who could truthfully say, "Meeaw navidia Cowsasawzneck"; that is, "I speak none of your Saxonage or English." Travellers from Cornwall to the East are still referred to as "going into England."

Cornwall and Yorkshire were regions that scorned to be dictated to by London; the noisy clique of professed soldiers, "deboshed" [10] men called Cavaliers in reprobation, the Catholic gentry of Lancashire, the recusant Herbert clique, and the peasantry in most of the shires formed a political party of strange bedfellows indeed. Smith's description of the crazy-quilt of England in 1642 can be synthesized somewhat as follows: The Yorkshire peasantry resented the suppression of the Council of the North, and hence stood for the King; London was for the Parliament which sat there; East Anglia, Hertford, and Northampton were strong for Parliament; shires with only a Royalist town here or there included Surrey, Huntingdon, Leicester, Bedford, Cambridge, Norfolk, and Gloucester; Parliamentary shires whose boroughs were mostly Royalist included Sussex, Hants, Berks, Bucks, Oxford, Derby, York, and Worcester; Parliamentary towns isolated in Royalist districts were Berwick, Newcastle, Carlisle, Appleby, Cockermouth, Scarborough, Knaresborough, Hull, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, Nottingham, Truro, St. Germans, Plymouth, Okehampton, Bath, Chippenham, Dorchester, Wareham, Lymington, Pembroke, and Denbigh (probably also Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and

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10. "Debauched"

other towns which were then without representatives); Somerset was Royalist, but the yeomen and the large class half-peasant, half-artisan, was strong for Parliament; in Royalist Yorkshire the gentry agreed to remain neutral at the outset; in Kent the grand-jury's petition in favor of the church was carried by a single vote; Newark, Tickhill, and Welbeck were Royalist; Bristol and Hereford were divided, as were both Oxford town, where the King established the Cavalier capital, and Merton College.

By way of summary Smith asserts that the dividing line in 1642 would run from Scarborough to Southampton, and that to the East of the line lay two-thirds of the population and three-quarters of the wealth of the kingdom, the most orderly, best organized, and most thoughtful part of the population, which had been instrumental earlier in raising the Yorkist kings and which was now Puritan because Puritanism seemed the one hope of freedom, both political and religious. [11]

The explanation of the allegiances of areas in the First Civil War presents many difficulties. The historian can lightly point to the fact that Parliament's territory included the thriving industrial towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Hull, London, Gloucester, Norwich, and Plymouth and deduce therefrom

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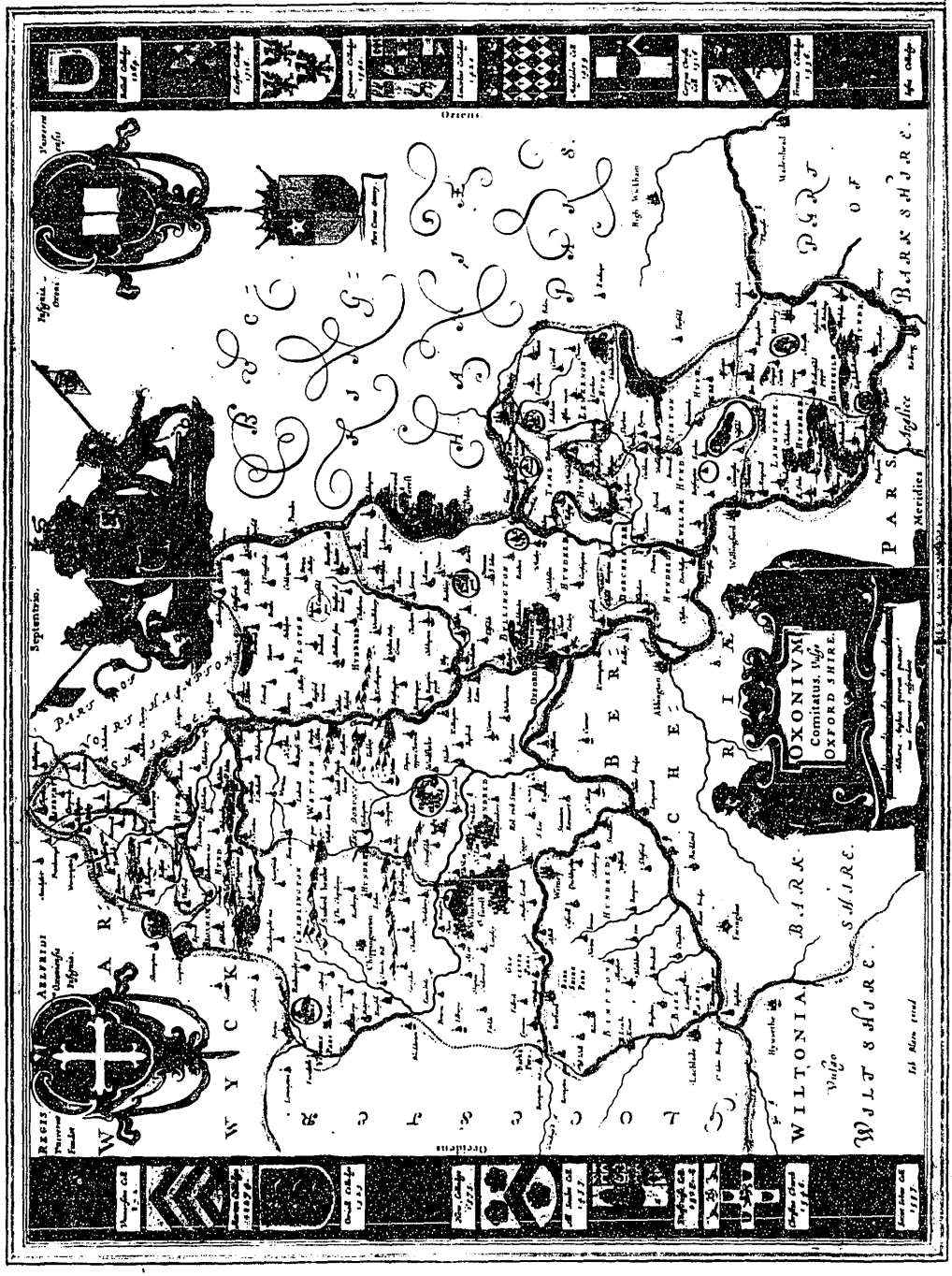
11. A.L. Smith, "Civil War and Commonwealth, 1642-1660" in Social England (6 vols., edited by H.D. Traill, New York, 1895) IV, 218-226.



J. Blaeu's map of Oxford, the Royal Capital (Amsterdam, 1645).

that the cleavage was one between urban and rural areas. Credence is lent to this view by the fact that Bristol, the second city of the kingdom, was initially aligned with the Parliamentary forces and became Royalist only after a siege. However, the analysis is superficial on at least two counts. In the first place, it is anachronistic, in that Manchester, Birmingham, and Hull became great urban centers a century later; Manchester and Hull were rising at the time, it is true, but Birmingham was hardly on its way to becoming a populous place, being at the time smaller than Coventry, Sutton Colfeld, Newark, Worcester, York, Reading, Newbury, Basing, and Exeter, all of which remained loyal to the King. [12] In the second place, entirely too many populous towns in England took the King's side for the urban-rural theory of allegiances in the Civil War to possess any validity whatsoever.

The two appended maps showing enclosures carried out in England without statutory compulsion in the sixteenth and with such compulsion in the eighteenth centuries show clearly that if loss of the village common had created a large class of economically discontented persons and thereby been determinative of allegiances in the Civil War, then King Charles would have held a solid area on the opposite

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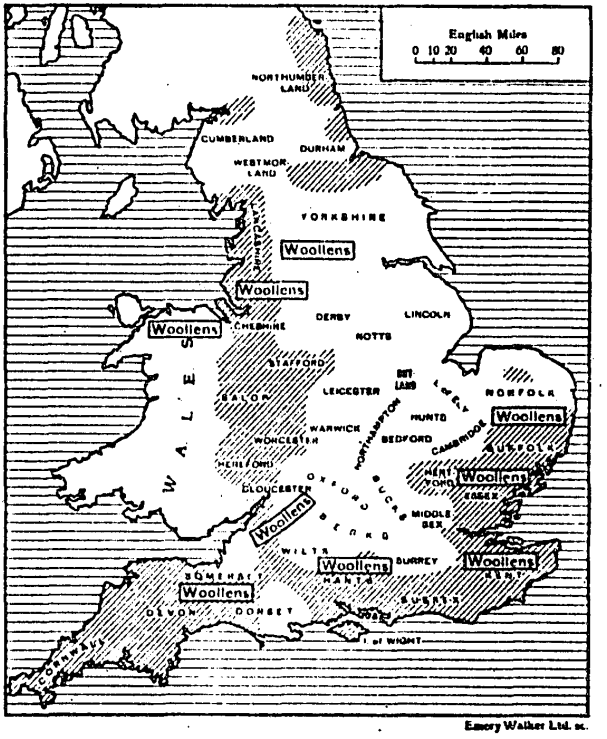
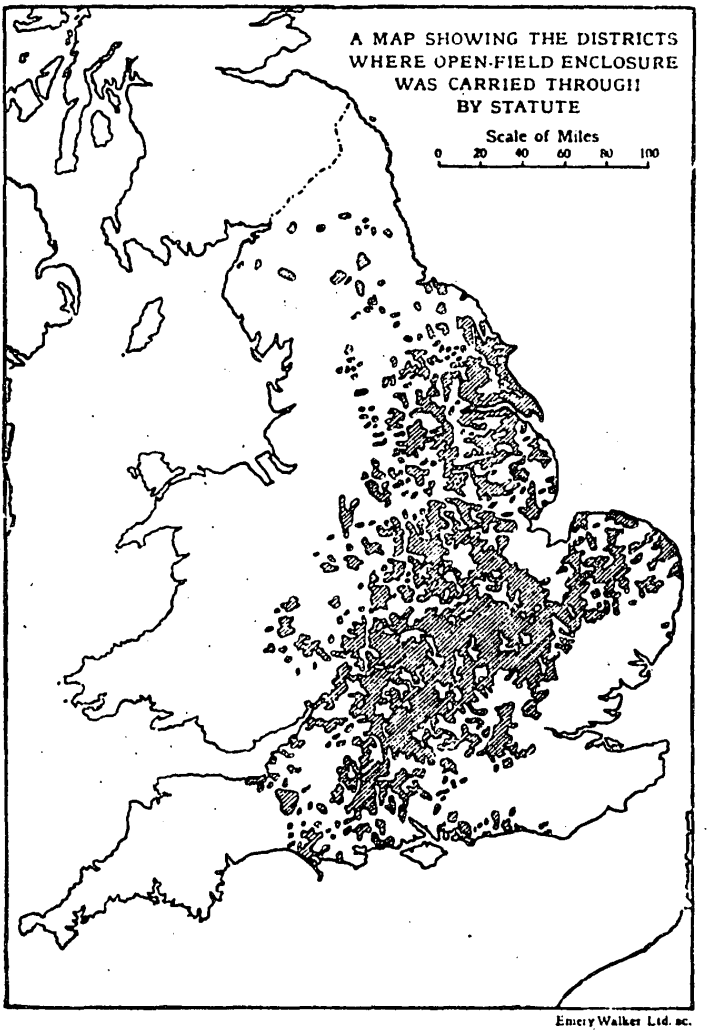
12. Guil. et Joannis Blaeu, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus, Pars Quarta (Amsterdam, 1645).



ENGLAND AND WALES
Map showing chief enclosures in England during the Sixteenth Century, and principal cloth-making districts

From D. W. Roberts, An Outline of the Economic History of England (London, 1937), 59.



Areas enclosed by statute beginning in the 1700's, from D. W. Roberts, An Outline of the Economic History of England (London, 1937), 117.

diagonal axis from that of the area held by Parliament in 1643.

In spite of the proximity of the King's former enemies, the Presbyterians of the Scottish lowlands, the North of England sided against Parliament. Likewise did Wales and the Southwest, which were the last areas to hold for the King after Naseby. The 1654 and 1655 risings against Cromwell were in Devon, Dorset, Wilts, and the Welsh marches, and a study of the sectional origins of Royalist leaders throughout the Civil War reveals an approximate two to one predominance of northern and western Royalists over southern and eastern Royalists in the King's armies. [13] The predominantly Celtic populations inhabiting these regions suggest the most probable explanation of the rift that developed as a result of the Civil War - a rift that had been present, though at times almost unnoticeable, ever since the entry of the Saxons upon the English scene about 449 A.D.; it was simultaneously a cause and a manifestation of the Civil War, which served to reveal the two basically differing racial stocks that blended to make the "Englishman." This racial rift was deemed of utmost importance by Lord Macaulay, who differentiated sharply between Celt and Saxon. [14] Heinrich Driesmans has perhaps more clearly

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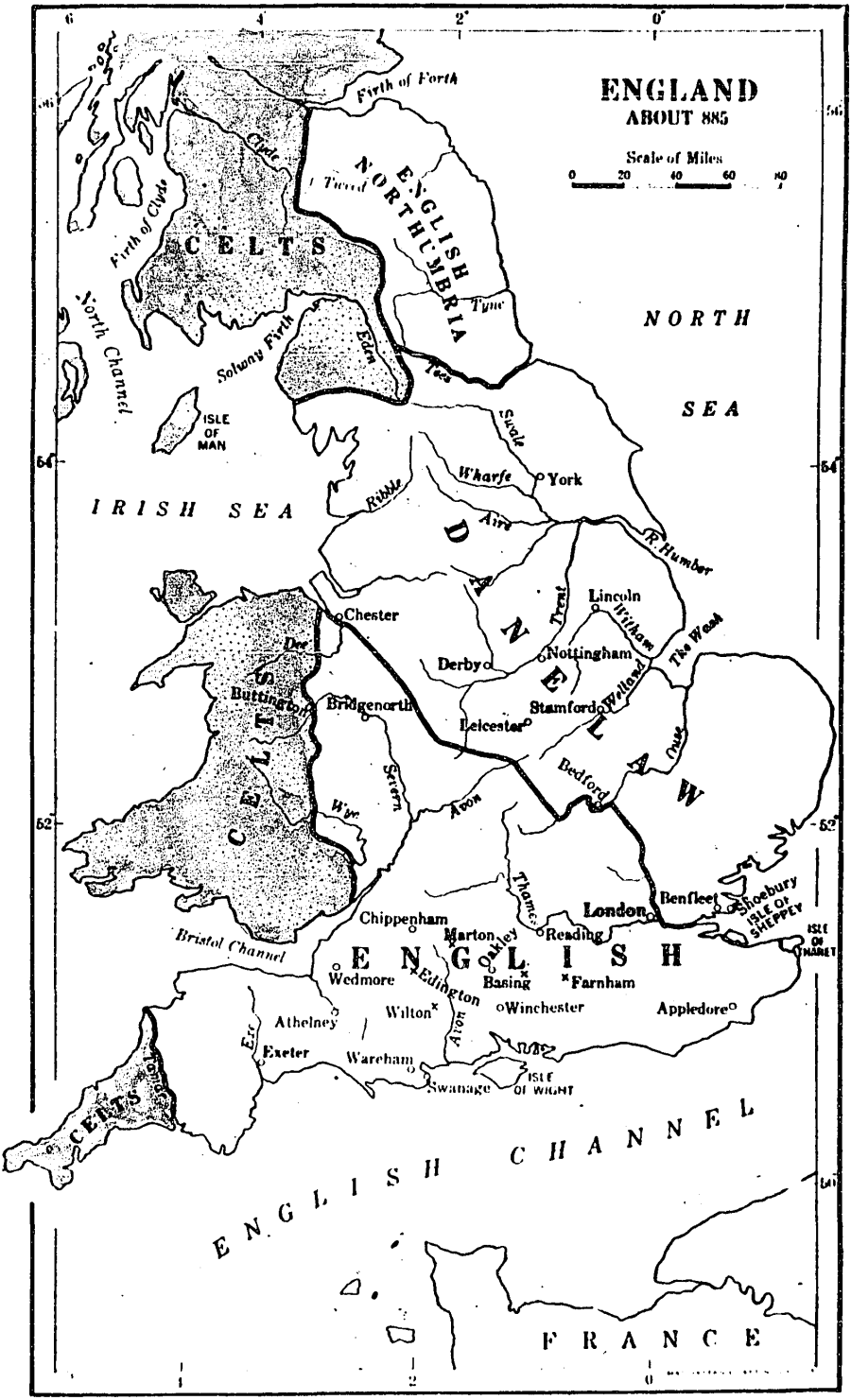
13. See Appendix II.

14. Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (5 vols., Boston, 1861), I, 52-53. Cf. Shane Leslie, The Celt and the World (New York, 1917), 145. See Appendix III.



From Frederick C. Dietz, A Political and Social History of England (New York, 1935).

than any other writer depicted the English Revolution as a racial war of the Germanic element against a Celtic King. [15]

The one element which the areas held by the King in 1643 had in common was the element of racial background. The appended map of England in 885 showing the Danelaw reveals that the Danelaw followed the same diagonal axis as the area held by Parliament in 1643. The Parliamentary area twists around like a gerrymander to include all five of the great boroughs of the Danes: Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. In case the period of time, from 885 to 1643, appears entirely too long for Danish influence to have persisted in East Anglia and the Midlands and for Celtic influence to have persisted in the North and West, we need only refer to F.M. Stenton's work on the Danes in England [16] to find the explanation for continuance to the present day of light hair and blue eyes in the Midlands. As for the Celts of the North, about 1361 Sir John Froissart, author of the famed Chronicles, travelled through the North of England and thought it worthy

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15. Heinrich Driesmans, Das Keltentum in der Europäischen Blutmischung (Leipzig, 1900), 40-41.

16. F. M. Stenton, "The Danes in England," Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XIII (1927), 203-246 (Raleigh Lecture on History, October 26, 1927).

of remark that the natives of Westmorland were still speaking the native British tongue of the old Kingdom of Strath Clyde. [17] Froissart erroneously called Westmorland "North Wales" - no egregious error, racially speaking. We have no reason to disbelieve the gossipy Sir John on the matter of Westmorland linguistics, and if he can bridge nearly five hundred years for us, it is no impossible feat for us to add less than three hundred years continuance of a peasant race which stayed ever close to the soil.

A further indication of the Celtic character of Charles's support may be found in the fact that the place-names of the North and West of England are largely Celtic in origin [18]; the legends of King Arthur, the Celtic hero par excellence, have persisted in Cornwall, Wales, and the North. [19] Westmorland alone can still show the tourist the circle of stones known as King Arthur's Round Table and Pendragon Castle, whose owner once attempted to divert the waters of the adjacent Eden for purposes of a moat, and of him the peasants still recite:

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17. Sir Walter Besant, "Sir John Froissart," Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th. Edition, 29 vols., Cambridge, 1910-11), XI, 242-246.

18. Eilert Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (2nd. Edition, Oxford, 1940).

19. W. Nowship Dickinson, King Arthur in Cornwall (London, 1900), 4-7; Joseph Ritson, The Life of King Arthur (London, 1825), passim.

Let Uther Pendragon do what he can,
Eden shall run where Eden ran.

It is not remarkable that the Celtic elements in the racial melting-pot of England should have regarded King Charles as peculiarly "their own." He was the heir of the old Celtic ruling family in Scotland stemming from Dalriada and the heir of the Welsh Tudors. It is a striking fact that in their emergencies the Stuarts were aided by Celts: Charles I was dressed for his execution by Lord Herbert, who had been transformed by no less than eight Welsh marriages from a Norman camerarius to a Welshman of the Welsh; Charles II, in his hour of direst need after Worcester, received shelter and protection in the "Royal Oak" at Boscobel from the generosity of the Celtic farmer Penderell, of Shropshire extraction.

Indeed, when one looks at the map of England in the Civil War, it seems possible that the royal bulge beyond the Welsh boundary into Hereford, Oxford, Gloucester, Shropshire, Berks, and Wilts, can be at least partially explained by reason of the large resettlement of impecunious Welsh gentlemen outside of Wales that followed the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485 coupled with the native prolificacy of the British inhabitants of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, who pushed the Saxon back on the land in the Southwest, thereby reversing the situation that had resulted from the settlement

policies of King Egbert and his Mercian contemporaries, Kings Offa and Beornwulf.

Whether the racial explanation of the First Civil War be valid or not, there are certain grave difficulties in the application of the urban-rural theory, and the more recent authorities are in substantial agreement that the struggle was in no sense a class war. If the struggle was in essence religious, then the racial analysis may well have validity, unless Lord Macaulay was in error when he said that no large society "of which the tongue is not Teutonic has ever turned Protestant, and that, wherever a language derived from ancient Rome is spoken, the religion of modern Rome, to this day, prevails." [20] Inasmuch as he identified race, nationalism, and religion, there is no way in which apparent divergencies between race and language can serve to divorce Macaulay from the racial interpretation of cleavages in English society.

The progress of the English Civil War would appear to have had a direct bearing upon the settlement of Virginia, as the internal commotion paralleled rising immigration figures. At first it seemed that the King would win; the campaigns of 1642

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20. Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (5 vols., Boston, 1861), I, 52-3.

A Copy of a List of all the Cavalliers, and brave Commanders of His Majesties Marching Army, with the number of Captaines, in each severall Regiment, and every Regiment containing about a thousand Soldiers.

Imprimis 1 *Regiment.*
The Earle of Newcastle Lord Generall of His Majesties foot Forces.
Lievtenant Colonell Rich
Sergeant Major Babthorpe
Captaine Fleetwood
Captaine waters
Captaine Hemings
Captaine Acton
Captaine Gyles
Captaine Fisher
Captaine Andrewes
Captaine Frost

2 *Regiment.*
Colonell Lord Taffe an Irishman
Liev. Colonell, Sir John Rodes
Sergeant Major, Thomas Treveere
Captaine Vpton
Captaine Hobbey
Captaine White
Captaine Hill
Captaine Farryer
Captaine Whiteacre
Captaine Floyd
Captaine Douglas
Captaine Winter

3 *Regiment.*
Colonell Hastings
Liev. Colonell Langley
Sergeant Major Stanley
Captaine Fryer
Captaine Venner
Captaine Hodges
Captaine Johnson
Captaine Fisher

4 *Regiment.*
Colonell, Sir Thomas Glemham
Liev. Colonell Vaughan
Sergeant Major Wagstaffe
Captaine Long
Captaine Coney
Captaine Starkeley
Captaine Smart.
Captaine Jackson

5 *Regiment.*
Colonell Sir Francis Wortley
Lievtenant Colonell Russell
Sergeant Major Waller.
Captaine Tukes
Captaine Stafford
Captaine Shelton

6 *Regiment.*
Lord Grandison, Lievtenant Generall.
Liev. Colonell John Digby.
Serjeant Major Willoughby.
Captaine Tempest.
Captaine Morgan.
Captaine Crane.
Captaine Musgrave.
Captaine Badger.
Captaine Hillyard.
Captaine Muggridge.

7 *Regiment.*
Colonell Endimion Porter.
Liev. Colonell Vavasor,
Serjant Major Stanhope,
Captaine Williams,
Captaine Berry,
Captaine Tisdale,
Captaine White,
Captaine Owen,
Captaine Beesley,
Captaine Thirlow.

8 *Regiment.*
Colonell Ashburnham.
Liev. Colonell Bruerton,
Serjeant Major Carey,
Captaine Huet,
Captaine Fowler,
Captaine Rigdley,
Captaine Washer,
Captaine Bowen,
Captaine Ballard,
Captaine Weeks.

9 *Regiment.*
Colonell Bellasis.
Liev. Colonell Murry,
Serjeant Major Pope,
Captaine Holloway,
Captaine Legge,
Captaine Withers,
Captaine Hodges,
Captaine Homer,
Captaine Metoo,
Captaine Barret.

Commissary Wilmot, Muster-master Generall, one Troop of Horse.
Secretary Nicholas, Secretary of state, one Troope of Horse.
Master Sidenham Knight Marshall, one Troope of Horse.

10 *Regiments.*
Viscount Killmurrey Serjeant Major Generall.
Liev. Colonell Sir Faithfull Forteseue
Serjeant Major Pollard
Captaine Bulhead
Captaine Prowse
Captaine Thomas
Captaine Colesfoot
Captaine Atkinson
Captaine Bateman
Captaine Denby.

11 *Regiment.*
Sir Lewis Dives, Colonell.
Liev. Colonell Lucy
Sergeant Major Withrington
Captaine Browne
Captaine Thomas Furbush
Captaine Ley
Captaine Iohnson
Captaine Slingsby.

12 *Regiment.*
Colonell Sir Charles Lucas.
Liev. Colonell Stanley
Serjeant Major Kelley
Captaine Hodges
Captaine Ford
Capraine Burley
Captaine Strangewayes
Captaine Whiteaway.

13 *Regiment*
Colonell Sir George Gotherick.
Liev. Colonell Washington
Serjeant Major Powell
Captaine Isaack
Captaine Iohnson
Captaine Lever
Captaine Burrowes
Captaine Sutton.

14 *Regiment.*
Colonell Osborne.
Liev. Colonell Savage
Serjeant Major Oneale
Captaine Forster
Captaine Vaux
Captaine Holyday
Captaine Hussey
Captaine Buttler
Captaine Iones
Captaine Fidler.

Prince *Robert* Generall of the Horse, Sir *Thomas Byron* chiefe Commander of the Princes Troope, containing about 500 Horse. The Earle of Bristoll two Troops. The Earle of Crawford three Troops. The Lord Digby, two Troopes. Lord Capell, two Troops. The Lord Willougby, Two Troops, the L. Grandison, Lord Kilmurry, L. Rich, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Gotherick*, Sir *Francis Wortley*, each of them a Troop of Horse; Besides a foot Regiment, Sir *John Byron*, one Troop of Horse.

I have omitted the Earle of Cumberland his Horse and foot, The Marquis Hartfords Horse and Foot. The Earle of Darbies Horse and foot, which is at the least, 16000.

None of which have been as yet with His Majestie, so that in all parts His Majesties Army of Horse and Foot is supposed to be 40000 Soldiers.

London Printed for *Francis Wright*. 1642.

From original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London.

and 1643 went in favor of the King; his forces won the day at Edgehill, Oxford, and Brentford, but at Turnham Green they were turned back in an attempt to take London. In 1645 the Royalists were beaten at Naseby; in 1646 the King surrendered to the Scots, in whom he had confidence, but they turned him over to the English. In 1647 the Parliamentary leaders among the Presbyterians were foiled of a prospective alliance with the King when the army took possession of his person. Pride's Purge of the Presbyterians in 1648 left the Rump reduced to a mere ninety members, and the Second Civil War was on. The Irish Protestants and Catholics joined Royalists and Presbyterians, but no force could prevail in the field against the Ironsides of Cromwell.[21] On September 3, 1650, Cromwell beat the Scots at Dunbar; on September 3, 1651, he beat the Scots and Charles II at Worcester. From the field of Worcester the son of the King who had so calmly and nobly met his death at the hands of the regicides in 1649 escaped as Will Jones, serving man to Mistress Jane Lane, arrived at Bristol, and took ship for France and Holland. Admiral Blake restored Virginia and Barbadoes to Parliamentary allegiance, and the royal estates were put on the market for a song (forty to fifty per cent of value)

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21. Recruited, according to Francis Galton, from the Fenlands and consisting almost wholly of short, dark fen-dwellers. Frank H. Hankins, The Racial Basis of Civilization, a Critique of the Nordic Doctrine (New York, 1926), 162, quoting Francis Galton, Inquiries into Human Faculty (London, 1883), 5.

and rapidly gobbled up by Independent generals. The unpopular Dutch war of 1652 brought about the end of the Rump, and in 1653 the brilliant military leader but compromiser on Puritan principle, the Anglo-Welsh Oliver Cromwell (grandson of that Richard Williams who had assumed the surname of his English benefactor) was named Lord Protector of the Commonwealth under (but actually superior to) England's first written constitution, "The Instrument of Government." Peace was made with Holland, Jamaica was acquired by conquest from Spain, and Cromwell ruled England through major-generals. On September 3, 1658, the Lord Protector died; before long the astute opportunist, General George Monk, who had served Charles I, the Long Parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and Richard Cromwell, opened negotiations with the Presbyterians (who reentered the Parliament from which they had been excluded by Pride) and with Charles II. On May 8, 1660, Charles II was proclaimed King in London, after he had declared a general amnesty for all past offenses and a confirmation of all land sales made under the Commonwealth. The Cavalier Parliament of 1661 was thwarted by the King in its desire for revenge upon those who had bought Royalist estates since 1642. However, the Presbyterians' coup-de-grace delivered in the Convention Parliament of 1659 was the ruining of the Independent generals who had bought crown lands.

The Cavaliers had suffered greatly for the King's cause, in both fortune and estate. The appended list of Cavalier gentlemen killed in the Civil Wars is as complete as any known to the present writer. It was published in London in 1669, when sufficient time had elapsed since the internecine strife for a tolerably accurate list to have been compiled. Even the most superficial examination of the list of "Royal Martyrs", read in conjunction with the "List of Imprisoned and Secluded Members" (supra, page 31) and "A Copy of a List of all the Cavalliers, and brave Commanders of His Majesties Marching Army," (supra, page 50) reveals a startling number of surnames encountered among seventeenth century Virginia colonists. Such names as Eveling, Floyd, Grimes, Harlow, Jones, Lewis, Lee, Mountague, Massey, Martin, Ravenscroft, Rogers, Spencer, Udall, Vaughan, Wyn, Walker, Whitehead, Yelverton, Rich, Waters, Andrewes, Stafford, Stanhope, Bruerton, Carey, Bowen, Pope, Holloway, Legge, Withers, Hodges, Barrett, Pollard, Washington, Osborn, Trevillian, Spotswood, and Wormley, to name only a few, are all Virginia names which figure prominently in the lists.

The writers are agreed that many of the erstwhile Cavaliers went into exile with Charles II. It is the opinion of the present writer that a higher percentage than most students of the subject have thought went to Virginia and remained there. Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate all Cavaliers

THE ROYAL MARTYRS:

OR,

A LIST of the Lords, Knights, Commanders, and Gentlemen, that were slain in the late Wars, in defence of their KING and COUNTRY. As also of those Executed by High Courts of Justice or Law-Martial.

PROV. 10.

The Memory of the Just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot.

Earls and Lords.

EArl of *Lindsey*, His Majesties Lieutenant-General, slain at *Edgehill* Octob. 23. 1642.

Earl of *Northampton*, slain at *Hopton-heath* in Staffordshire, *March* 19. 1642.

E. of *Carnarvan* } Slain at *Newbery*.

E. of *Sunderland* } *Sept.* 1643.

E. of *Lucifer*, slain at *Roman Heath* in Cheshire, *Sept.* 29. 1645.

E. of *Kingston* slain ne r *Gainsborough* in Lincoln sh.

E. of *Denbigh* received his Deaths wound at *Birmingham*, *April* 3. 1643.

The Lord *Francis Villiers* slain at *Comb-Park*, *July* 7. 1648.

Marquess *de Vicuville* (a native of *France*) slain at *Newberry*, *Sept.* 17. 1643.

Lord Viscount *Falkland* there also.

Lord *Daubigny* slain at *Edghil*.

Lord *John Sinars* slain near *Alresford* in Hampsh.

Lord *Grandison* received his Deaths wound at *Bristol*.

Lord *Cary* slain at *Marston Moor* in *July* 1644

Sir *Henry Constable* L. Viscount *Dunbar*, at *Scarborough* Castle.

Baron *Dawnoon* (a Dutchman) slain at *Nottingham*.

Baronets and Knights.

Sir *Edmund Verney*, His Majesties Standard-bearer, slain at *Edghil*.

Sir *Bevil Grenvile* at *Landdown* July. 5. 1643.

Sir *Nicholas Slanning* at *Bristol* July 26. 1643.

Sir *Rich. Lawdy* at *Cover* in Gloucestersh.

Sir *Ingram Hopton* at *Winsby* near

Sir *George Booth* } *Horn Castle*.

Sir *Wil. Butler* } at *Cropedy* Bridge

Sir *Will. Clerk* } June 29. 1644.

Sir *Tho. Methum* } at *Marston Moor*

Sir *W. L. Lampton* }

Sir *Anth. Mansfel*, at *Newberry*.

Sir *John Smith* (who rescued the Kings Standard at *Edghil*) slain near *Alresford* in Hampsh

Sir *Anth St. Leger* at *Newberry* *Octob.* 27. 1644.

Sir *Henry Gage*, at *Culum* Bridge near *Abington*, Jan 11. 1644.

Sir *Michael Earnley*, slain at the surprisal of *Shrewsbury*.

Sir *John Girlington*, near *Melton Mowbray*.

Sir *William Mauwaring* at *Chester*.

Sir *John Digby* received his Deaths wound at *Langport* in Com. Somerset.

Sir *William Croft* slain at *Stokesey* in Shropsh. June 9. 1645.

Sir *Tho. Gardiner* in Buckinghamsh

Sir *Pet. Brown* of *Kiddington* wounded at *Nasby*, died at *Northamp.*

Sir *Thp. Dadison* } slain at *Nasby*.

Sir *Rich. Cave.* }

Sir *Henry Fletcher*, at *Chester*.

Sir *Bernard Astley* } at *Bristol* last

Sir *Rich Crane* } siege

Sir *Rich. Hutton* } at *Sherburn*

Sir *Francis Carnaby* } in Yorksh.

Sir *Gilb. Gerrard* jun. near *Lullow*.

Sir *Wil. Wentworth* } at *Marston*

Sir *Charles Slingsby* } *Moor*.

Sir *Francis Dacre* }

Sir *Richard Godhil*, wounded in *Wales*, died at *Worcester*.

Sir *Brian Stapleton* in Yorksh.

Sir *Ledowick Wyse* at *Banbury*.

Sir *Philip Byron* at *York*.

Sir *Nicholas Fortescu* (Knight of *Malta*: slain in Lancashire.

Sir *Trevilian Turbervil* (Capt. Lieut of the Kings Life Guard) slain at His Majesties marching from *Newark* to *Oxford*.

Sir *Tho. Tildsly* slain at *Wiggan*

Sir *Nic. Kemish* at *Chepstow*.

Sir *Rich. Gleedal* at *Hilsam Moor*.

Colonels.

Col. *Tho. Howard* (son of the Lord *William*) slain at *Pitsburg*

Col *Charls Cavendish* near *Gainsb.*

Col. *Tho. Howard* (son of Sir *Francis*) at *Atherton Moor* June 30. 1643.

Col. *George Hern*, there also.

Col. *Ferdinando Stanhop* slain in Nottinghamsh

Col. *Stanhop* his brother at *Shelford* house, Octob. 25. 1645

Col. *Cuthbert Conniers* at *Malpas* in Cheshire, August. 1644.

Col *Thomas Morgan* of *Wilton* at *Newberry* first battle.

Col. *John Arundel* at *Plymouth*.

Col *Hen. Lunsford* } slain at *Bristol*

Col. *Buck* } July 26. 1643.

Col. *Trevanian* }

Col. *Hern* (son of S. *Edw.* slain at

Col. *Boton* } *Gainsb.*

Col. *John Marrow*, in Cheshire

Col. *Tho. Dalton* wounded at *Newberry* died at *Marlborough*.

Col. *Bernard* (with divers Gent.) put to the Sword at *Canons-frome* in Herefordsh. in July 1645.

Col *Middleton* at *Hopton Heath*.

Col. *Francis Hungate* at *Corfton*.

Col. *Mytton* slain in Gloucestersh.

Col. *Will. Bains* at *Malpas*.

Col. *Billingsley* at *Bridgenorth*.

Col *Whitley* at *Conway* Castle.

Col. *Pinchback* at *Newberry*.

Col. *Rich. Grimes* at *Beeston* Castle.

Col. *Kirton* }

Col. *Prideaux* } at *Marston Moor*

Col. *Rich. Mounsey* at *Alresford*.

Col. *Will. Ewre* (brother of the Lord *Ewre*) at *Marston Moor*.

Col *John Fenwick*, there also.

Col. *Blunt* slain at *Lyme*.

Col. *St. George* at *Leicester*.

Col. *Dalby* at *Winkfield* Mannor.

Col *Cassy Bental* at *Stow*.

Col *Cuth Ratcliff* at

Col *Philips* near *Winchester*.

Col *Taylor* at *Bristol*.

Col *Will. Winn* at *Wem*.

Col. *Bamfat Nasby*.

Col. *Cuthbert Clifton* at *Manchester*

Col *Leak* at *Newark*.

Col. *James Chidley* at *Dartmouth*.

Col *Bowles* at *Aton*.

Col. *Hugh Windham* in Dorsetsh.

Col. *Rich Poor* in *Wales*.

Col. *Pers* in *Cornwal*.

Col. *Trollop* at *Wiggan*.

Col. *Bagot* at *Nasby*.

Lieutenant Colonels.

Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Markham* slain near *Gainsborough*.

L. C. *Munro* at *Edghil*.

L. C. *Lancelot Holtby* at *Brancesford*

L. C. *Colt* at *Radcot*

L. C. *Geo. Preston* at *Bradford*.

L. C. *Howard* } slain at *Landsdown*.

L. C. *Ward* }

L. C. *Paxyer* at *Liverpo.*

L. C. *Edw. Wilburn* slain at *Basingh-house* in cold bloud

L. C. *Haggerston* at *Preston*.

L. C. *Lisle* } slain at *Marston*

L. C. *Stanwood* } *Moor*.

L. C. *Jordan Mcham* at *Pontefract* Castle, March 1. 1644

L. C. *John Gower* at *Scarborough*

L. C. *Tho Ewre* at *Newberry*.

L. C. *Sayer* } at *Nasby*.

L. C. *Lawson* }

L. C. *Topham* at *Newberry* 1. bat.

L. C. *Will. Hoxton* at *Newberry* 2.

L. C. *Philip Howard* } at *Che-*

L. C. *Michael Constable* } *ster*.

L. C. *Story* in Gloucestersh.

L. C. *Moyle* at *Bristol*,

L. C. *Ballard* }

L. C. *Maddiford* } at *Taunton*.

L. C. *Jones* at *Bridgwater*.

L. C. *Slingsby* at *Newberry*.

L. C. *Bolton* at *Nantwich*.

L. C. *Scot* at *Alresford*.

L. C. *Godfrey* at *Tewksbury*.

L. C. *Gw. Salvin* at *Northallerton*.

L. C. *Pof Kirton* at

L. C. *Drues* at *Reading*.

Serj. Majors.

Major *Cufand* slain at *Basing-house* upon cold bloud.

M. *Hudalesten* at *York*.

M. *Rich. Harbert* } at *Malpas*.

M. *Hitkith*

M. *Beaumont* at *Leeds*

M. *Gw. Pinckney* near *Stamford*.

M. *Kendal* at *Bristol*.

M. *Smith* at

M. *Paterson* at *Ashby-dela-Zouch*.

M. *Sheldon* }

M. *Lowes* } at *Landsdown*.

M. *Williams* in *Southwales*.

M. *Tho. Vavasor* at *Marston Moor*.

M. *Torcave* at *Torrington*.

M. *Dubleday* at

M. *Gower* at *Stowbrough*.

M. *Tevillian* at *Newberry*.

M. *Turner* at

M. *Price* }

M. *Gurney* } at *Bristol*.

M. *Will. Leak* at *Newberry* 2.

M. *Laur. Clifton* at *Shelford* house.

M. *Pilkington* at

M. *Armstrong* at *Oxford*.

M. *Dennis* (a Frenchman) at *Lechlade*

M. *Pollard* at *Dartmouth*.

M. *Clarke* at *York*.

M. *Metcalf* at.

M. *Wigmore* at *Ilmister*.

M. *Wilson* at *Nasby*.

M. *Spinfweed* at *Wem*.

M. *Tho. Whitmors* at *Muscaw*.

M. *Dean* at *Bristol*.

M. *Dacre* at *Wellinghton*.

M. *Salvin* at *York*.

M. *Walter Baskerfield* in Bedfordsh.

M. *Bunnington* at *Leicester*.

M. *How* at *Keighley*

M. *Robson* in *Durham*.

M. *Jenkins* at *Colam* in Yorksh.

M. *Wormley* at *Cirencester*.

M. *Rowley* wounded at *Nasby*, died in prison at *London*.

Captains.

C. *Marm Constable* (Standard-bearer to the L. C. *Lindsey*) slain *Edgh.*

C. *Henry Byron* } at *Edghil*.

C. *Kingsmill* }

C. *William Lobson* slain at *Sheriff-Hutton*.

C. *Math. Andrews* }

C. *Hutton*. }

C. *Plunket* at

C. *John Lampton* at *Bradford*.

C. *Joseph Constable* at *Newberry* 1.

C. *William Bowles* at

C. *Tho. Winkley* at *Leverpool*.

C. *Tourstan Anderton* wounded at *Newberry*, died at *Oxford*.

C. *Will. Hamson* at

C. *James* at *Landsdown*.

C. *Cornifham* slain at *Landsdown*.

C. *Ratcliff Houghton* at *Preston*.

C. *Hugh Hen* at *Faringdon*.

C. *Tho. Whittingham* at *Newberry*

C. *Hugh Houghton* at *Reading*.

C. *Vaughan* at

C. *Goring* at *Newberry*.

C. *Robert Molineux* at *Newberry* 1.

C. *Cha. Osburn* near *Hartland*.

C. *Fry* at *Torrington*.

C. *Cha. Thimelby* at *Worcester*.

C. *Cottingham* at

C. *Gardiner* at *Tame*.

C. *John Bird* at *Marston Moor*.

C. *Rich* at *Bristol*.

C. *Needham* at *Shrewsbury*.

C. *Tho. Meynel* at *Pontefract* Castle

C. *Fitz James* at *Bridgwater*.

C. *Cha. Simart* in Warwicksh.

C. *Christopher Wray* } at *Bradford*.

C. *Bunce*

C. *John Clifton* at *Shelford* house.

C. *Redman* at *Pontefract*.

C. *W. Fenwick* at *Bolton* in Yorksh

C. *Abraham Lancs* brothers, slain

C. *Robert Lancs* } in Cheshire.

C. *Slany* at.

C. *Caney* at *Wesley* in Lancash.

C. *Rich. Wolfale* at *Newberry*.

C. *Chamberlain* at.

C. *Farrar* at *Nantwich*.

C. *Bushel* at.

C. *James Bassit* at *Lancester*.

C. *Edw Rim* at *Wakefield*.

C. *Anth Hammerton* near *Manchest*

C. *W. Simcots* at *Newberry* 1.

C. *Gerard* at.

C. *Joh. Whitley* at *Harding*.

C. *Surat* at *Doncaster*.

C. *Tho. Singleton* at *Newberry* 1.

C. *Fran. Errington* at *Ruberam*.

C. *Nich. Fitzherbert* at *Leverpool*.

C. *Butler* } at *Edgecton Moor*

C. *Mar. Nelson* }

C. *William Lampton* at *Wakefield*.

C. *Topham* } at *Carlisle*.

C. *L. Burbeck* }

C. *Banner* at *Banghton* near *Chest*.

C. *Henry Alderset* at *Chester*.

C. *John Adlington* at

C. *Gilb. Markham* } at *Nasby*.

C. *Messenger* }

C. *Dan Thorold* }

C. *Greasbury* }

C. *Tho. Gough* }

C. *John Rukely* at *Sherburn*.

C. *Gascoign* near *Melton*.

C. *Sandford* at *Nantwich*.

C. *Gilb. Ashton* at *Bolton* in Lane

C. *Anth. Awdy* at *Newark* in a

C. *Tho. Cole* } Sally.

C. *Huddleston* at *York*.

C. *Dudley Smith* at *Roundway-down*

C. *Sam. Wyman* in Devonsh.

C. *Osmon* near *Oxford*.

C. *Joseph Davison* at *Newcastle*.

C. *Fran. Clifton* at *Newberry* 1.

C. *Standish* at *Manchester*.

C. *Roger Houghton* }

C. *Edw. Bradley* } at *Marston Moor*

C. *Meynel*. }

C. *Edw. Wynn* }

C. *Swords* } slain at *Denbigh*.

C. *Parrey* }

C. *John Lance* at *Ship*.

C. *Charls Blount* at *Gloucester*.

C. *Geo. Casey* at *Hereford*.

C. *Anth Girlington* at *Lancaster*.

C. *Langdale* in *Wales*

C. *Carver* in Monmouthsh.

C. *John Lingen* at *Lemster*.

C. *Symonds* at *Newberry* 2.

C. *Will. Arundel* at *Plymouth*.

C. *Fr. Baron* in *Newberry* 1.

C. *Fra. Godfrey* at *Sherburn*.

C. *John Hamilton* at *York*.

C. *Yates* at *Melton*.

Gentlemen Volunteers.

Edw. Talbot Esq. } slain at *Marston Moor*.

Charls Townley Esq. } *Sir Mose.*

Mr. Cha. Sherburn }

Edw. Sackoyle Esq. near *Oxford*.

Edw. Preston Esq. at *Ormskirk*.

Mr. Sands at *Alresford*.

Mr. Price of Wasbingly slain at *Lincoln* in cold bloud.

Mr. Bale at *Tamp* in Leicestersh.

Ralph Langton Esq. at *Preston*,

Mr. John Constable in Yorksh,

Mr. Steven Tempest at the *Devises*.

Mr. Cuth. Ratcliff at *Newcastle*.

Mr. J. b. Latham at *Newark*.

Mr. Rich. Latham at *Lichfield*.

Mr. Cary and }

Mr Jennings } at *Shelford house*.

Mr. Blount near *Manchester*.

Mr. Bourscale at *Newberry* 2.

Mr. Cartwry in Lancash.

Mr. James Anderton in *Wales*.

Mr. Steven Pudsey in *Holderneff*.

Mr. Fr. Bowyer at *Marston M.*

Mr. Rich. Brown in the *Wast*.

Mr. Christoph. Anderton at *Marston*

Mr Chr. Mosham at *Dartmouth*.

Mr. Corbet at *Bridgnorth*.

Alderm. Davison }

Mr. Tho. Ogle } at *Newcastle*.

M. St. John in the West.

Monsieur St. Paul at *Marston M.*

Mr. Mirs Mayor of *Preston* is there.

Mr. Bousars Kemp }

Mr. Hesket } near *York*.

Mr. Miles Lockard at *Goodrick C.*

Mr. George Mavy in *Wales*.

Mr. Peter Davis at *Denbigh*.

M. Edw. Davis at *Chester*.

Doctor Wilson Physician at

Doctor Tho. Wigby at *Preston* with many more.

Executed.

Earl of *Strafford* executed at Tower-hill May 22. 1641.

Mr. Rob. Tomson } at *Bristol* May

Mr. Geo. Burcher } 30 1643.

Mr. Nath Tompkins } *London* Ju-

Mr. Chaloner. } ly 5. 1643.

Sir *Alexander Carew*. at Tower-hill Dec. 23. 1644.

Capt. *Hotham* there Jan. 2. 1644.

Sir *John Hotham* there Jan. 2. 1644.

Archb. of *Cant.* there Jan. 10 1644.

Sir *Charls Lucas* } at *Colchester* Aug.

Sir *Geo. Lisle* } 28 1648.

Duke *Hamilton*, in the Palace Yard at *Westminst*

Earl of *Holland* Lord *Capel* } at *Westminst* Mar. 9. 1649.

Col. Ja. *Morris* } at York Aug.

Cor. *Blackborne* } 3. 1649.

Marq. of *Montrose* } at *Edinburg*

M. G. *Urrey*. } May 21 1649.

Col. *Spotswood*. }

Col *Eustib. Andrews* at Tower-hill Aug. 22. 1650.

Sir *Hen Hide* near the Exchange March 4. 1650.

Capt. *Brown Basset* at *London* April 21 1651.

Mr. *Love* } at Tower-hi l.

Mr *Gibbons* }

James Earl of *Derby* at *Bolton* in Lancashire Oct 15 1651.

Col Jak. *Gerrard* at Tower hill July 10. 1654

Mr *Peter Vowel* at Charing-Cross July 10. 1654

Capt. *Lucas* at the Old Exchange

Col. *Penruddick* } at *Exeter*. May

Mr. *Hugh Grove* } 16. 1655.

Col. *Ashton* in Tower-street

Mr. *John Bettey* in Cheapside.

Mr *Edmund Seacy* in Cornhil.

Sir *Henry Vaughy* } at Tower hill

Doctor *John Hewet* } June 8. 1658.

If the names of any persons of quality have escaped the industry of the Cauliflory Pen, upon notice given to the Printer, they shall be inserted.

LONDON, Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, living in *Warwick-street* over against *Warwick Ground*.

From original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London.

had lost prestige and influence in the mother country during the eclipse of royal power; with the Restoration, the English country gentlemen reassumed their dominant place in English society. However, so numerous were the Royalists whose estates had been sold and confirmed in new hands and so bounteous was the new King toward his erstwhile enemies in the matter of honors and preferments, that many an old "rusty cavaleer" preferred remaining in exile to returning to the mother-country to compete in the stiff economic battle.

Charles II, who was averse to further travel, rounded out his days as king, dying in 1685. James II, his brother, was king for three years, from 1685-1688. After a short interregnum, the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 was achieved, and William and Mary ascended the throne in 1689. From 1694 to 1702 William III ruled as king alone, his wife having died in the earlier year.

After the upheavals of the Civil Wars there are only two events worthy of note that may have influenced emigration from England to Virginia: the Great Fire of London of 1666 and Monmouth's Rebellion of 1685, following which the West Country rebels were severely punished during the "Bloody Assize" of James II. He was an ardent Roman Catholic and elevated individuals of his religious persuasion to high office; the "Glorious Revolution" by which Protestants succeeded to the

Crown, may have had an effect in bringing about emigration of Roman Catholics, but if they did leave in large numbers, it was not in Virginia, but in Maryland that they would have sought refuge.

The year 1660 marked for England, in the opinion of at least one authority,[22] the beginning of the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and social revolutions whereby England was transformed from the predominantly agrarian character she had possessed for centuries to an island of urban areas and great shipping and manufacturing interests. The increasing activity upon the island itself, combined with the rapid increase of population, gives rise to the presumption, concurred in by Lipson (the economic historian), that emigration from England, after the malcontents left shortly after the Restoration, remained at a comparatively low level from about 1670 to 1700. This presumption would appear to be borne out if records of immigrants to Virginia for the same years are a valid criterion. Land patent records of Virginia reveal the same volume of immigration for the two periods 1607-1666 and 1667-1724. The comparatively light immigration previous to 1634 combined with the known fact of increasing numbers of fictitious headright patents in the later period point unmistakably to the fact that white immigration was slowing up in the latter half of the seventeenth

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22. D. W. Roberts, An Outline of the Economic History of England (London, 1937), 111-113.

century; the truth is that negro importations were increasing and slave labor was fastening itself more and more upon the colony, as "boom times" in Restoration England provided more incentive for Englishmen to remain at home. It was the pre-Restoration wave of emigrants from the mother-country that furnished Virginia with its reservoir of white stock.

After the Restoration the practice of "spiriting," which apparently had begun as early as 1644, would seem to have become a serious problem to authorities in England. This nefarious practice whereby youths, frequently of good family, were kidnapped and taken on board ship to Virginia, may have owed its name to the "mysterious spirit" or agency by which the disappearance was supposed to have been achieved, or, as is more probable, it may have referred to the liquid "spirits" with which the kidnapping is recorded to have been effectuated. There is no doubt that the modern expression, "to spirit away" had its origin in the practice whereby young people of the coastal towns were plied with liquor until insensible and put aboard ships for Virginia upon which they awoke too late. [23]

English records shed considerable light on exportations of "natural Irish men," "Irish tories," "pirates," "Scotch

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23. Appendix VIII, infra; also page 116 , infra, note 25.

gentlemen," and "convicted persons of Scotland." [24] The West Country rebels in the Monmouth Rebellion were either executed or deported; Hotten shows that the vast majority of them were deported to Barbadoes. So numerous were these emigrants to the West Indies that John Fiske inclined to the belief that none ever reached Virginia. However, at least two [25] were sent direct to the colony, and if the tenor of English documents means anything, there were others.

In 1669 provision was made for the registering of servants sent to Virginia, [26] and in 1697 a scheme was devised for sending disbanded soldiers to Virginia, the King to pay their transportation and the soldiers to serve as indentured servants there or in Maryland for four years and at the end of that time to receive each one suit of clothes and fifteen bushels of Indian corn. [27] Micajah Perry, the agent appointed for Virginia to handle the importation of such servants, refused on July 21, 1697, to take fifty convict women from Newgate Prison, and as a consequence they were sent to the Leeward Islands and settled there. [28]

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24. See <u>infra</u>, pages 120 ff.

25. Edward Wilson James, "Notes from Colonial Papers, America and West Indies, 1685-'88," <u>William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine</u>, X (1901-2), 196. John Edwards and Edward Lloyd were shipped in October, 1685, to York River from Hamwood in Somerset.

26. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 223, quoting Colonial Entry Book, CII, 211.

27. Sainsbury Abstracts, V, 366, quoting Trade Papers, IV, 309-11.

28. See <u>infra</u>, page 122.

Apparently the matter of transporting foreigners, particularly of Mediterranean stocks, to Virginia met with little favorable response on either side of the Atlantic. Thus, no action was taken on behalf of the Mainotti in Morea, Greek Christians suffering oppression at the hands of the Turks, following Mr. Ball's letter from Livorne (modern Leghorn or Livorno) of May 25, 1675, advising Secretary Williamson of the desirability of encouraging emigration from the Morea to Virginia.[29]

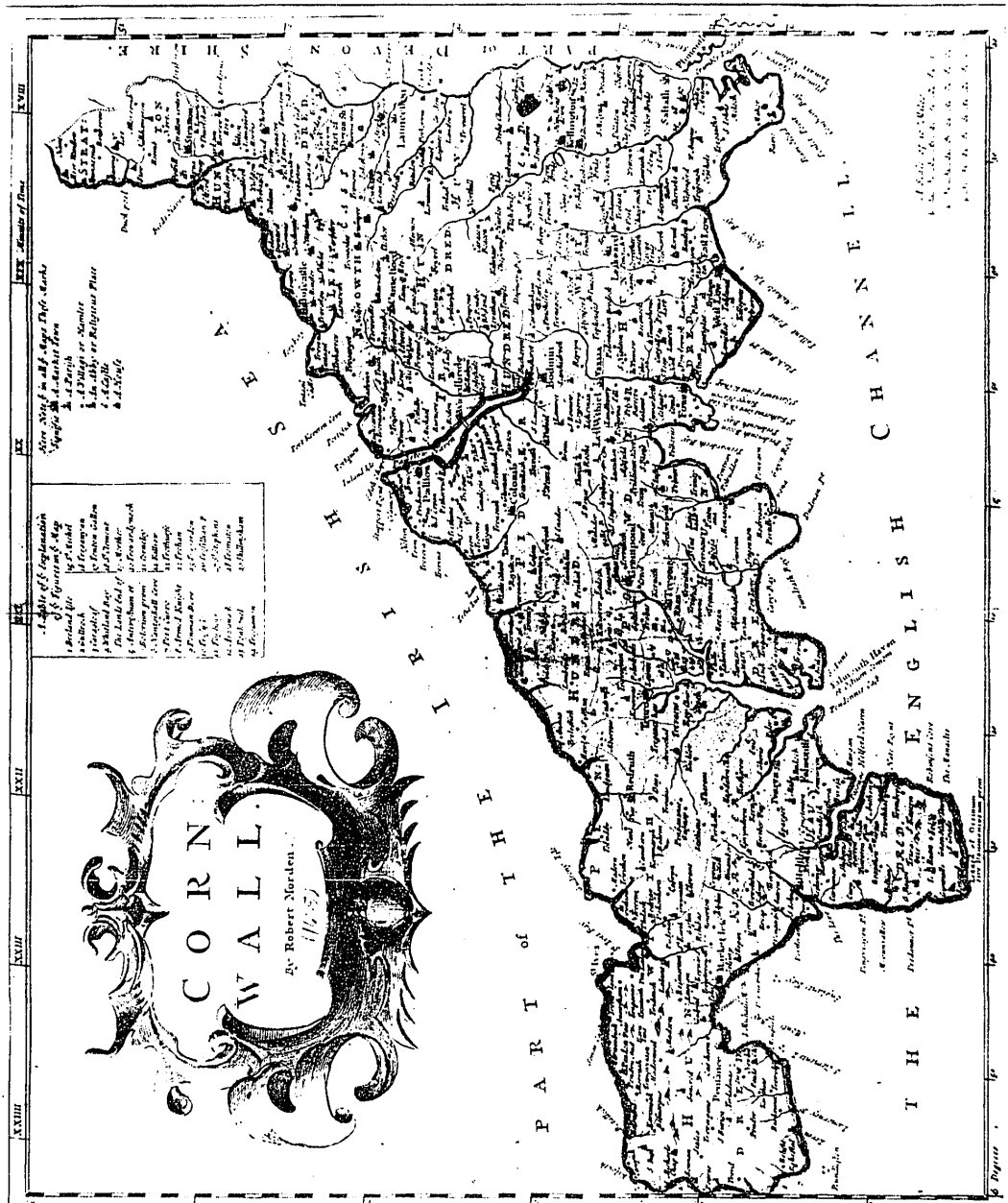
* * *

29. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 207, quoting Colonial Entry Book, XCVII, 25.

CHAPTER THREE - SHIPS ENGAGED IN COLONIZATION AND THE PREDOMINANT INFLUENCE OF SOUTHWESTERN ENGLISH SHIPPING INTERESTS

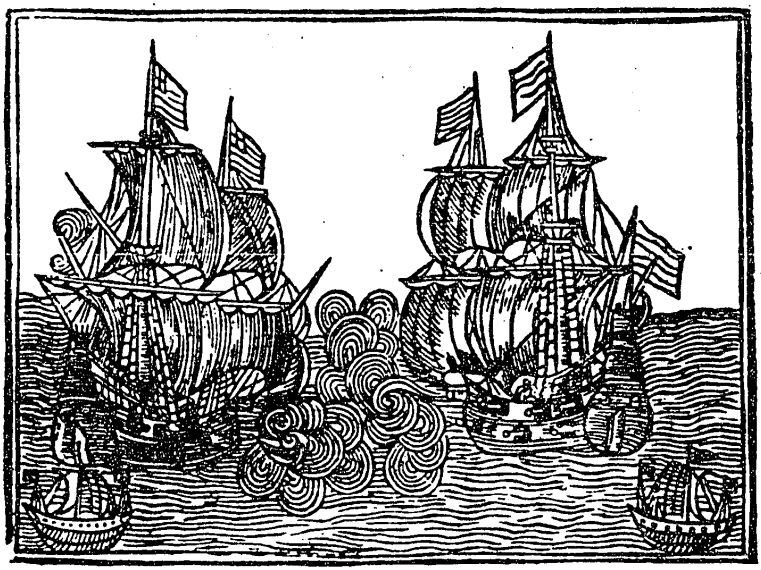
By Tre-, Ros-, Pol-, Caer-, Man-, and Pen-
You shall know most Cornish men. -Old Couplet

So runs the old Cornish couplet, and by application of it to the names of English shipping merchants, sea captains engaged in the colonization of the New World, and immigrants to Virginia, we are able to gain some insight into the predominant part played by Southwestern England in the settlement of the Virginia colony. Trelawney, Trevelyan, Trevannion, Trerice, Penrose, Pensam, and Penenton are names of West Country folk whose eyes turned from their own barren seacoasts to the sea itself. Trelawney is encountered among the names of Virginia colonists, and the most prominent member of the family, perhaps, was the fearless leader of the rebellion in 1685 in favor of the Duke of Monmouth, for which he was confined in "London keep and hold." Resolute Royalists and reckless pirates abounded among the preponderantly Celtic population of the West of England, who were from early times forced to take to the sea for a living by reason of the comparatively limited agricultural possibilities of the area into which they had been driven by the superior might of England's Teutonic invaders.



Robert Morden's map of Cornwall, the Haven of Pirates (1695).

Sixteenth century England under Elizabeth found direction and leadership for her dynamic overseas expansion in such West Country sea dogs as Drake, Hawkins, Grenville, Raleigh, and the Gilberts - men whose names and exploits made of little England a name to conjure with in Spain, and, indded, in all Europe. The sailors who fought and won against the Armada were the fathers of the mariners on Virginia ships, and the Arundels, Carews, Champernownes, Edgcumbes, Godolphins, Killigrews, and Tremaynes were leaders among the gentry of the West who furnished capital and direction, not to mention influence at court, which were so vital to the establishment of a successful colony in Virginia. Sir Robert Killigrew, member of the commission for winding up the affairs of the Virginia Company of London, special commissioner for the better plantation of Virginia in 1631, and representative at various times in Parliament for St. Maves, Bodmin, Tregony, Penryn, and even Cornwall, is but one of many influential Western men who helped to shape Virginia in the formative period. Nicholas Trarice, master of the good ship "Planter", which in known to have made two trips to New England in 1634 and 1635 and may well have brought colonists to Virginia, is but one representative of a class of West Country ship captains. Samuel Pensax, master of the "Nicholas and Margaret" and the "Henry and David" which came to Virginia in 1653 and 1655 respectively is another. Not only were there immigrants to Virginia

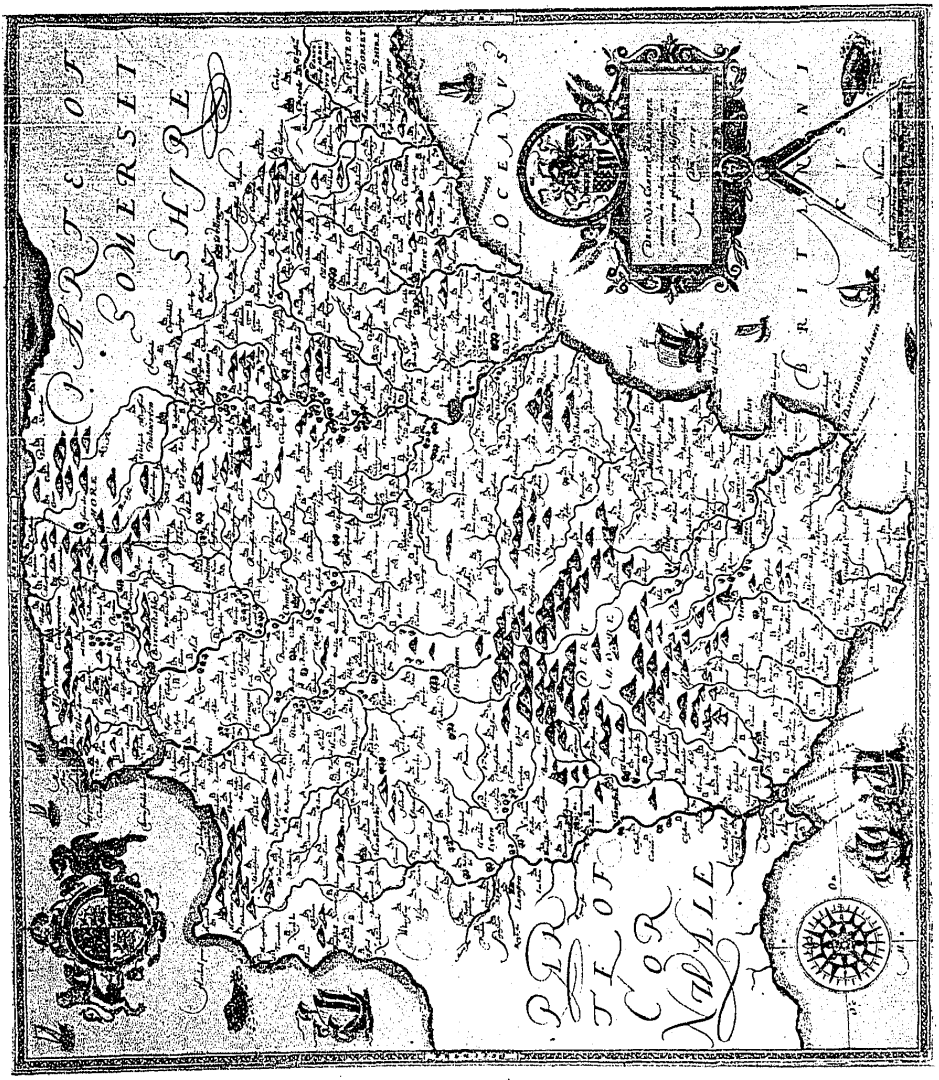


TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SHIPS

From Hyder E. Rollins, Cavalier and Puritan (N.Y.,1923).

named Trelawney, Trevelyan, Threnorden, Trehearne, Trevannion, Polwheele, Cary, Manry, Penrice, Penrose, and Penenton, but there were a host of others from Cornwall and Devon whose names did not immediately betray their origin. The Yeos of Tre-Yeo had dropped the prefix "Tre-" but they were old West Country people. Captain Leonard Yeo of Elizabeth City, Virginia, and Mr. Hugh Yeo, merchant of Northampton County, Virginia, whose connection with Justinian Yeo of Hartland in Devonshire is clearly traceable, brought at least thirty-eight persons to Virginia. The translation into Norman French of "Tre-Yeo", which became "Yeovil" occurred centuries before emigration to Virginia, but Yeovil, which underwent a metamorphosis into Yeowell, Yowell, Youell, Youall, Youl, Yowle, Yawl, Yawle, Yuille, and perhaps even Ewell and Ewall is the little Somerset town which gave its name to one of the most numerous families in Virginia.

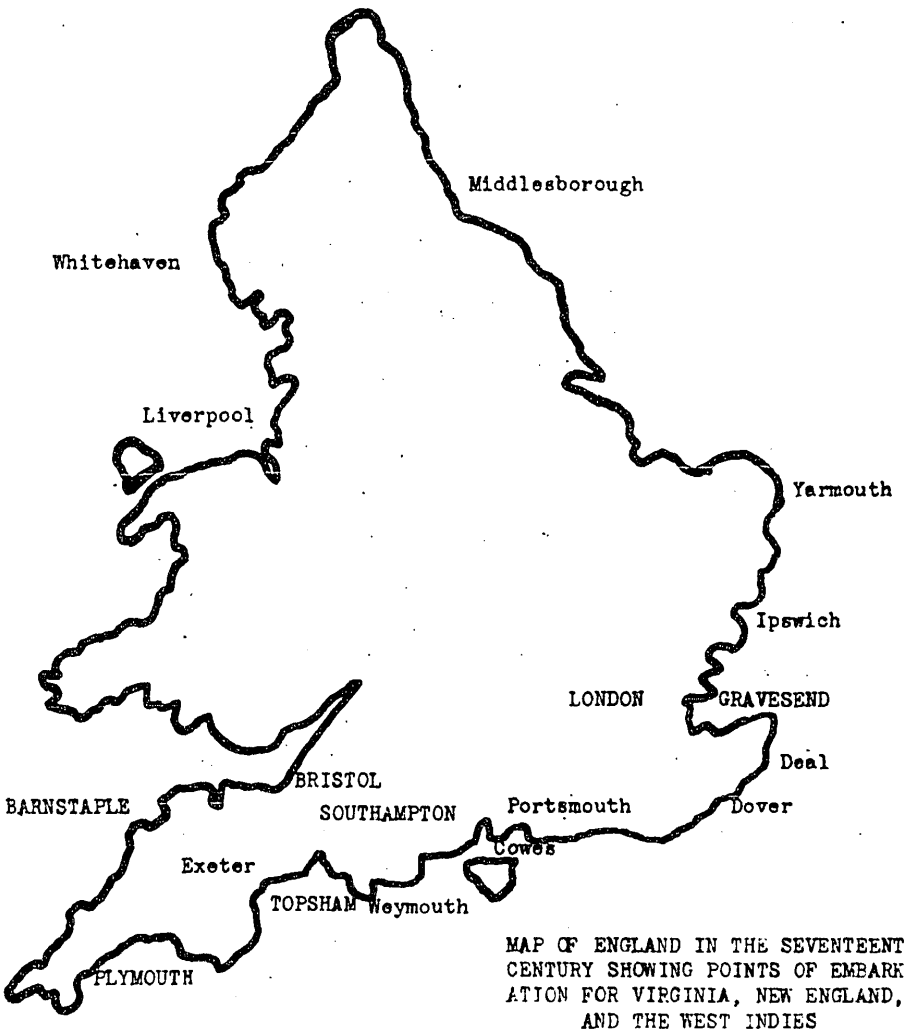
Hosts of persons connected with Virginia colonization were from Devonshire. The references to the two western counties in Virginia records are numerous: John Harris of Northumberland County, Virginia, whose will was proved in 1719, mentioned his uncle William Harris of Haynie (actually Hayne) in the parish of Stowford, Devon, and his cousin Christopher Harris of Padstow in the same shire. The Harrises of Hayne, one of whose number was Captain of St. Michael's



Christopher Saxton's map of Devonshire, 1575.

Mount in Cornwall, were only one of many old families of the landed gentry in Devon whose younger sons found an opening in the Virginia colony.

Nugent's Cavaliers and Pioneers (Vol. I) lists no less than thirty-three immigrants to Virginia whose names begin with Tre-, Tra-, Tro-, or Tru- and who were indubitably Cornish. The prominent Virginia family of Taliaferro, whose immigrant ancestor's name appears several times as Robert "Troliver", claimseCornwall as its English home. Nugent also lists at least eleven Virginia surnames beginning with Pen-. Greer lists fourteen with Tre- and only seven with Pen-. Of course, this is only a small number among the thousands who came to Virginia, but so copious a sprinkling of distinctive Cornish names bespeaks a large number of fellow immigrants with names whose true origin is less easily discernible. Some of the ship captains appear to have been members of Eastern families who had migrated from the Celtic West; thus, Thomas Cornish, master of the "Young William" which came to Virginia in 1679 was of a family which had gained prominence in London, Kent, Essex, and Berkshire. Richard Tregian, master of the "Society", a London vessel in Virginia in 1700, bore a Cornish name. Many other ship captains were Welshmen from Wales or Londoners of Welsh descent; among this group may be mentioned Davies, Jones, Morgan, Price, Williams, Jenkins, and the pirate James. Sir Robert Mansel, Richard

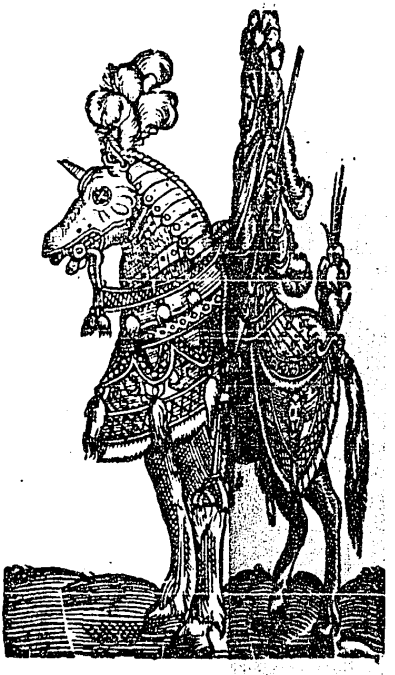


MAP OF ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SHOWING POINTS OF EMBARKATION FOR VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND, AND THE WEST INDIES

Williams, and Griffith & Co. of London are examples of Welsh ship-owners. William Tracy and Sir William Throkemerton of Clowerwall are examples of proprietors of ships in Gloucestershire. There were, it is true, seafaring men from the East, such as Capt. John Dameron of the "Duty" in 1619, who was of Westerfield Manor and Parish in Suffolk; East Anglians had been mariners for centuries, and it is not surprising to find them engaged in seafaring in the period of Virginia colonization. However, the present writer believes that if the entire picture of ship captains, ship owners, and ships' companies could be presented at this late date, it would be found to be overwhelmingly made up of individuals from West of the straight line joining Newcastle and Southampton. As the late Fairfax Harrison once observed, the loss of outgoing ship lists of the port of Bristol was a sad blow to Virginia historians.

The "Catalogue of all the Kings Ships" printed for John Wright in 1627 mentions the home ports of twenty-two ships in all, of which five appear to have been "of London." Three are "of Dover" and one of Ipswich, which would appear to give the Southeast the edge in matters of shipping. An attempt has been made to determine the relative importance of seaports in England in the seventeenth century with reference to Virginia colonization. Tentative conclusions can be reached

The right high, and right mightie Prince *George Villiers*, Duke, Marquess, Villiers, Baron of Whaddon, high Admirall of England, & Ireland, and of the Principalitie of Wales, Governour Royall Navy, Master of the Horse to his Majestie, Lord Warden, Chancellour, Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and the c *Dover*, Iustice in Eyre of all his Majesties Forests, Parkes, and Chases on this side Trent, Constable of the Royall Castle of *Windsor*, of Estate of the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord High Steward of the Counsell of Warre



A Catalogue of all the Kings Ships, as also of all other Ships, and Pinnaces, together with their *Squadrons*, *Captaines*, *burthen*, *Seamen*, and *Land-men*, set forth in his Maiesties seruice, the 27. of Iune, 1627.

Names of Ships:	*Captaines Names.*	*Tons.*	*Seamen.*	*Land-men.*
1. Squadrons, 23. Ships.				
TRiumph, *K. Ship.*	*Sir* Iohn Wats.	921	300	
Nonsutch, *K. Ship.*	*Sir* Allen Aspley.	650	250	100
Sperance, *K. Ship.*		480	80	160
Charles *K. Pynnas.*	*Cap:* Lidiard.	60	45	140
Sara *Bonaventure.*	*cap:* Iohn Bickley.	360	48	160
Convert.	*cap:* Iohn Mince.	360	48	160
Mathew.	*cap:* Iohn Meruin.	360	48	160
Anne.		360	48	160
Minniken. *K.*		20	22	
Rocouery.		360	24	
Mary Magdalene.		400	30	130
Richard		400	26	60
Iosias.		360	24	120
Returne of *London.*		360	28	
Ioan of *Lond. (kerfork.*		360	20	
Witte faulkon of *Ac-*		80	28	
Buck of *Bergen.*		60	20	200
Iohn of *Lee.*		250	20	160
Renew.		70	24	
St. Paul.		70	24	
Gift of *God.*		50	12	
Iohn of *Dover.*		66	14	50
St. Marie.		100	20	50
		1208	1810	

2. Squadron 11. Ships.				
RAinbow, *K. Ship.*	*Cap:* Weddall.	650	250	100
Vantguard, *K. Sh.*	*Sir* Iohn Burges.	650	250	100
William.	*cap:* Iohn Burges.	360	480	160
Desire.	*cap* Leon Powell.	360	42	160
Confidence.	*cap:* Turner.	360	42	160
Timothie	*cap:* Newport.	360	42	160
Spye, *K. Pynnas*		24	8	
Mary of *Ipswich.*		360	24	
Sea *Venture.*		360	24	
Reporte.		400	30	150
Elizabeth.		360	24	90
Sara of *London.*		360	20	50
Hope of *Menuslike.*		80	16	200
Hope of *Vulsing.*		90	16	200
Phœnix of *Encuscu.*		80	20	50
Nativitie.		120	22	
Britaine.		40	10	
Saint *Thomas.*		40	10	
Saint *Michael.*		40	8	
Saint *Laurence.*		100	20	50
Anne of *Dover.*		360	24	50
		1384.	1680.	

1. *Regiment.*	2. Regiment.	3. Regiment.
Sir Iohn Burrows *Colonel.*	*Sir* Charles [illegible] *Colonel.*	*Sir* Edw: Conway, *Co*
Sir Edw: Hawley, *Leiu.Col.*	*Sir* Iohn [illegible] *Leiu. Col.*	*Sir* Edward Harwood *Leiu. Col.*
Cap. Green, uile. *Sergeant*	*Cap.* Stan[illegible] *Sergeant Major.*	*Sir* Iames Scot *Leiuten. Co*
cap. Groue. *(Major.*	*cap.* Cook	*Cap.* Kenithorph, *Serge*
cap. Terwit.	*cap.* Raph[illegible]	*cap.* Hunckes *(M*
cap. Hamond.	*cap.* Hone	*cap.* Ranford,
cap. Heatley.	*cap.* Carle[illegible]	*cap.* Goring,
cap. Shugburgh.	*cap.* Papril	*cap.* Pelham,
cap. Betts.	*cap.* Morg[illegible]	*cap.* Aſchley,
cap. Blundel.	*cap.* Giffel	*cap.* Ogle,
cap. Bowles.	*cap.* Brant	*cap.* Dixon,
		cap. Alford.

4. *Regiment.*	5. Regiment.	6. Regiment.
Sir Alexander Bret.	*Sir* Willia[illegible] *Colonel.*	*Sir* Tho: Morreton, *Co*
Sir Tho: Thorneburſt, *Col.*	*Sir* Tho: [illegible] *Leiu. Col.*	*Sir* Warham St. Leg
Cap. Frier, *Sergeant Major.*	*Cap.* Farre *Sergeant Major.*	*Leiu. Colonel.*
cap. Richards.	*Cap.* Blunt	*Cap.* Watkins, *Sergeant*
cap. Glin.	*cap.* Padde	*cap.* Abraham,
cap. Moulſworth.	*cap.* Cornel	*cap.* Maiſterſey,
cap. Preſton.	*cap.* Cone	*cap.* And: Hill,
cap. Babington.	*cap.* Powe	*cap.* Tailor.
cap. Bret.	*cap.* Reigna[illegible]	*cap.* Bond.
cap. Gilpin.	*cap.* Meath	*cap.* Springe.
cap. Alford.	*cap.* Done	*cap.* Iudd.

7. *Regiment.*		
Sir Henry Sprye, *Colonel.*	*cap.* Hunck[illegible] *Sergeant (Major.*	*cap.* Leake:
Cap. Tolecern, *Lieutenant Colonel.*	*cap.* Seame	*cap.* Mathon,
	cap. Courſey	*cap.* Bucke,
	cap. Talbot	*cap.* Owen.

Printed by Iohn Wright.

From original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London

eorge Villiers, Duke, Marquis, and Earle of *Buckingham*, Earle of *Couentry*, Vicount
and, & Ireland, and of the Principallitie of Wales. Gouernour of all the Castles and Sea Forts, and of the
Warden, Chancellour, and Admirall of the Cinque Ports, and the members thereof: Constable of the Castle of
hales on this side the Riuer of *Trent*, Constable of the Royall Castle of *Windesore*. Gentleman of the Kings Bedchamber. Councellour
Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. Lord President of the Counsel of Warre: and Chancellour of the Vniuersitie of *Cambridge*.

	Names of Ships.	*Captaines Names.*	Tons.	Sea-men,	Land-men.
	3. Squadron 20. Ships				
R	Epulse, *K. Ship.*	*Cap:* Best.	750	250	100
	Warspight, *K.S.*	*cap:* Tho. Porter.	650	250	100
	Susan and Hellen.	*cap:* Edw: Greene.	360	48	160
	Returne.	*cap:* Dowrthip.	300	42	160
	Abraham.	*cap:* Wil. Button.	360	48	160
	Rose.	*cap:* Wil: Cooke.	360	42	160
	Henriette, *K. Pynnas.*		40	10	
	Hope of *London.*		360	20	60
	Resolution.		360	26	
	Costly.		360	34	
	Returne of *Wocebe.*		360	24	100
	Red Cammel.		400	28	
	Foxe of *Menlicke.*		40	16	200
	Peter of *Remel.*		40	17	160
	Henne of *Horne.*		40	16	50
	Mutton.		120	22	
	Saint *Denis.*		70	16	
	Roger.		30	8	
	Francis.		30	8	
	Bon-*Auenture.*		40	10	
				935.	141 0.
	4. Squadron 20. Ships.				
V	Ictorie, *K. Ship.*	*Cap:* Ketelby.	870	250	100
	Esperance.	*cap:* Skipwith.	360	48	160
	Sea Horse.	*cap:* Edw: Button.	300	90	160
	Pats *Bon-auenture.*	*cap.* Nath: Butler.	360	48	160
	William and *Thomas.*	*cap:* Beuerson.	360	42	160
	Anthony.	*cap:* Row-Waters.	360	42	160
	Fly, *K. Pynnas.*		16	12	
	Frances.		30	8	
	Mary and Ioan.		360	26	
	Anne Speedwell.		360	24	100
	Fortune.		200	20	
	Peter of *London.*		390	18	30
	Whitetten of *Bulstwart*		200	10	200
	Holy Lam of *Memlyke.*		50	16	50
	Marchant *Royall.*		120	24	
	Barbur.		70	18	
	Hope well.		35	10	
	Little Ely.		60	12	
	Evan.		40	10	
	Ioan of *Douer.*		40	10	50
				744.	1330.
			Number in all	4365.	7240.
	Capt. *Tennigtons* Ships.				
R	Ed Lion, *K. Ship.*	*Cap:* Pennigton.	650	250	100
	Desire, *K. Ship.*	*cap:* Wallingham.	40	40	100
	George.	*cap:* Terringeham.	360	100	100
	Mar: *Bon-auenture.*	*cap.* Plunckley.	360	100	100
	Peter Andrew.	*cap.* Edw: Porter.	360	160	100
	Benediction.	*cap:* Stephens.	360	100	100
	Paragon.	*cap:* Paramo.	360	100	100
	Camelion.	*cap:* Will: Iewell.	300	80	60
	Globe.	*cap:* Horsey.	450	120	
	Primrose. (*grace.*	*cap:* John Hall.	360	70	
	S: Peter of *Haun de*	*cap:* Fran: Woall.	260	60	
	Saint *Anthonie.*	*cap:* Hill.	100	24	
				1144.	

FINIS.

nt.	2. *Regiment.*	3. *Regiment.*
Colonel.	*Sir* Charles Rich, *Colonel.*	*Sir* Edw: Conway, *Colonel.*
, Leiu. Col.	*Sir* Iohn Radcliff, *Leiu. Col.*	*Ser.* Edward Harwood *for him.*
Seream	*Cap.* Standidg *Serg. Major.*	*Sir* Iam: Scot *Liuten. Colonel.*
(Major.	*cap.* Cooke.	*Cap.* Kenithorph, *sergeant*
	cap. Raph: Shelton.	*cap.* Huncks *(Major.*
	cap. Honey.	*cap.* Ranford.
	cap. Carleton.	*cap.* Goring.
	cap. Papril.	*cap.* Pelham.
	cap. Morgan.	*cap.* Afshley.
	cap. Gifford.	*cap.* Ogle.
	cap. Brand.	*cap.* Dixon.
		cap. Alford.

nt.	5. *Regiment.*	6. *Regiment.*
t.	*Sir* William Courtney, *Col.*	*Sir* Tho: Moreton, *Colonel.*
urill, Col.	*Sir* Tho: York, *Lieut. Col.*	*Sir* Warham St. Leiger,
Major.	*Cap.* Farrer *sergeant Major.*	*Lieut: Colonel.* *(Major.*
	Cap. Blundell.	*Cap.* Watkins, *sergeant.*
	cap. Paddon.	*cap.* Abraham.
	cap. Cornwall.	*cap.* Maisterse.
	cap. Contrey.	*cap.* And: Hill.
	cap. Powell.	*cap.* Tailor.
	cap. Reignolds.	*cap.* Bond.
	cap. Meautis.	*cap.* Springe.
	cap. Done.	*cap.* Iudd.

slonel.		
eream	*cap.* Huncklint, *sergeant*	*cap.* Leake.
	cap. Seamar, *(Major.*	*cap.* Mastion.
	cap. Courtney.	*cap.* Bucke.
	cap. Talbot.	*cap.* Owen.

Printed for *Iohn Wright.*

from an examination of the ship list of voyages to Virginia included in Appendix IV. Examination of some four hundred or more voyages to the colony between 1607 and 1701, exclusive of the large convoy of 1700, reveals ships designated by home ports as follows:

"Of London".....35
"Of Bristol".....12
"Of Southampton"..... 2
"Of Topsham"(Devon)..... 2
"Of Barnstaple"(Devon)..... 2
"Of Plymouth" (Devon)..... 2
"Of Isle of Wight"..... 1
"Of Rye" (Kent)..... 1
"Of Hull" (York).....1
"Of Falmouth" (Cornwall)... 1
"Of Liverpool" (Lancaster).....1
"Of Yarmouth"(Norfolk)1
"Of Middleborough".....1

TOTALS S.E.- 37 S.W. - 22 N. - 3

In spite of the eight voyages made by such a Western vessel as the "Swan of Barnstable", superficial examination would make it appear that London, or in other words, the East, dominated the shipping interests engaged in Virginia colonization. This view may be admissible if qualified by the statement that the personnel who predominated in London maritime affairs were largely of Southwest origin, if Southwest be taken to include the Southern half of Wales and the area west of a line from Shrewsbury to Southampton.

That the picture given of Bristol's importance by a mere twelve ships in ninety-three years of Virginia trade

John Speed's map of Gloucester, showing Bristol, the greatest of the outports (1676).

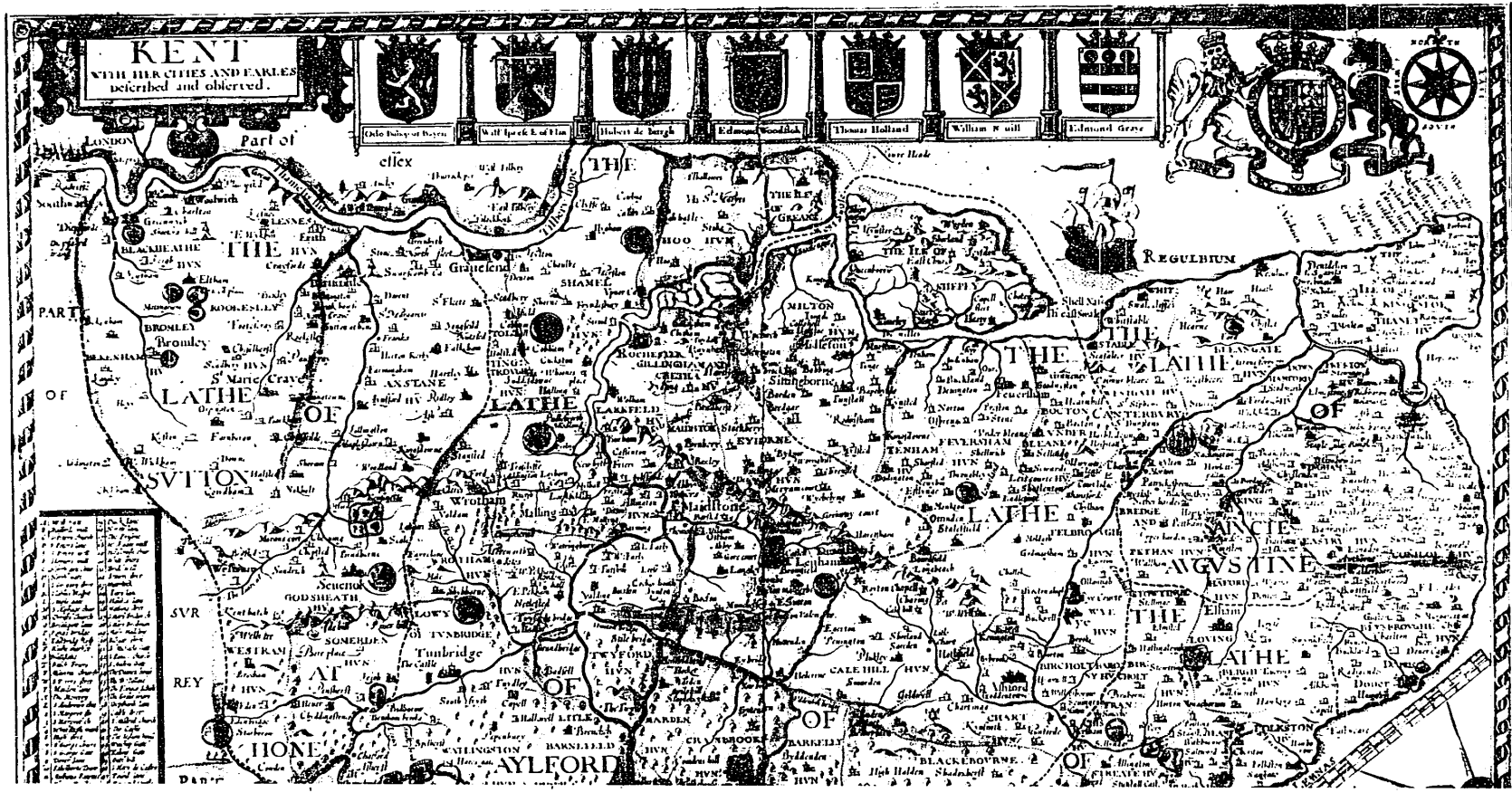
is not a true one can be seen from the fact that in 1666 there were thirty ships in Bristol Harbor destined for Virginia. These ships can unerringly be designated as ships "of Bristol" and consequently as Southwestern ships, in a way that the Virginia fleet in Fowey Harbor, for which the Dutch lurked in wait in the same year (or ships in Plymouth or Cowes harbors), cannot; Fowey, Plymouth, and Cowes were popular places of rendezvous for fleets leaving London, Gravesend, Deal, and Dover. A London ship was a rarity in Bristol Harbor, but an everyday occurrence in any of the South-coast ports of the Southwest.

We are fortunate in possessing a list of the fleet from Virginia on June 9, 1700, under the convoy of the "Essex Prize" brought to light by Arthur P. Middleton.[1] This list of fifty-seven ships reveals the following home ports:

"Of London".....24
"Of Fowey" 1
"Of Leverpool".....3
"Of Bristow"..... 5
"Of Bellfast".....1
"Of Jersey"..... 1
"Of Guernesey"..... 1
"Of Plymouth"..... 4
"Of Virginia"..... 2
"Of Lyme"..... 1
"Of Dublen".....4
"Of Bedeford"..... 4
"Of Barnstable"..... 1
"Of Whitehaven"..... 4
"Of Hull"..... 1

TOTALS S.E.-24 S.W.-18 N.-8 Ireland-5 Virginia-2

1. Arthur Pierce Middleton, "The Chesapeake Convoy System, 1662-1763," The William and Mary Quarterly, III (April, 1946), 182-207, 204-207.



John Speed's map of Kent, Sir Byng's home (1610).

This list reveals that if Jersey and Guernsey be included with the Southwest, then ships from that area stood to London ships in the ratio of three to four. One striking fact to note is the entire absence of Eastern ships from any port other than London. Deal, Dover, Ipswich, Yarmouth, and other Eastern ports appear to have lost out in the Virginia traffic. This conclusion is borne out by the list we possess of ships about to sail from Virginia for England in 1705, which although it is later than the period covered by Appendix IV, nevertheless in all probability reflects the maritime picture for the latter half of the seventeenth century. Of sixty-seven ships about to sail from Virginia in July, 1705, their destinations were as follows:

Bristol	19
Liverpool	13
London	11
Whitehaven	8
Biddeford	6
Plymouth	3
Lynne	2
Cowes	1
Barnstaple	1
Foy	1
Weymouth	1
Plymouth & Lond.	1

TOTALS East-14 S.W.- 32 North-21

In the 1700 convoy the Eastern and Western shipping interests appear to have been evenly balanced, 25-25. By 1705, however, Western ships outweigh Eastern by 53-14. If

the Southwest area be conceded to include Isle of Wight and Hampshire (and Hereford, if Foy is not Fowey in Cornwall, which in all probability it was), than the Southwest alone furnished nearly half, 33 of the 67 ships in Virginia. The rise of the Northwest ports, Liverpool and Whitehaven (Cumberland), neither of which is known to have sent a single ship to Virginia in the first half of the seventeenth century, had an appreciable effect in diminishing the importance of the Southwest in maritime affairs, but it is believed that during the formative period of Virginia colonization the satellites of the defunct Plymouth Company gradually leavened the mass of the London Company interests to the point where the Southwest and not London was the focus for direction and settlement of the Virginia colony. The truth is beclouded by the large number of influential Londoners whose ties with the Southwest were closer than with East England.

A.L. Rowse, an Oxford scholar, has shown in his biography of Sir Richard Grenville [2] that Cornwall and Devon were of great importance in the establishment and settlement of Virginia. Plymouth in Devon, Bristol in Gloucester, and London itself were in the early days the three chief ports of embarkation for the colony. Southampton was a rival, although apparently more ships from Southampton went to New England than went to Virginia. Barnstaple was also

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2. A. L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the "Revenge"; An Elizabethan Hero (London, 1937).

an important seafaring town in the seventeenth century, and long before the Monmouth Rebellion the names of Bideford and Padstow, Barnstaple and Plympton, probably sounded a familiar note of home to more Virginians than did the name of London itself, if from the large number of emigrants from London those Southwesterners who regarded it as merely a temporary residence be subtracted.

R.N. Worth may have given expression to overweening local pride when he made the following statement:

> Indeed as Devonshire men were the first colonizers of the North American continent; so was Plymouth their headquarters....Thus the first attempts to settle what is now the great Republic of the West were made by Devonshire men, sailing out of Plymouth Sound. Thus the first germs of that great nation are traceable to Western adventurers or Western ports.[3]

However, he showed that his statement is not unsupported by solid facts; Stukely, Grenville, Gilbert, Frobisher, Davies, and Raleigh are a few of the most prominent Westerners enumerated by Worth. A clear majority of Robert Southey's "English Seamen" were Westerners. William Dampier was born on a farm near Yeovil, Somersetshire, and the pirate Sir Harry Morgan was a Welshman. The two Hawkinses, William and Sir John, author of North American slavery, were connected closely with the port of Plymouth. According to Jones,

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3. R. N. Worth, History of Plymouth from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Plymouth, 1871), 53, 61.

historian of British merchant shipping, the shipping and overseas trade of England had begun to decline between the death of Elizabeth and the seizure of power by Parliament in 1642. London shipping had been cut in half by 1620, due to Dutch competition. Under Charles I it was the privateers of Bristol and the smugglers of the Western coasts who kept alive the seafaring tradition of the England which had defeated the Armada in 1588.

In examining facts from which to determine the focus of seagoing activity behind the settlement of Virginia it is not amiss to look at the genesis of both Barbadoes and Bermuda, which were closely connected with Virginia settlement, inasmuch as Bermuda lay on the direct sailing route from England to Virginia and many of her settlers came from the two islands in the West Indies. Barbadoes was in many respects a colony of Plymouth, or if not, of Devonshire. Oldmixon has shown that among the prominent families on the island were the Walronds, Fortescues, Collitons, Prideauxes, and Palaeologuses - Westerners all. Tourists in Barbados today are shown the tomb of Palaeologus, whose Cornish sire's tomb in a little Western church links the family with the last Roman Emperor in the East, who fell before the Turk in 1453. In Bermuda we find Pembrok's Forte,

Atop
Adme
BARB
with the
ROCK
ROCK
ROCK
ROC
The tenn Thousande
Acres of Lande whic
Belongeth to the
Merchants of London.
Hetherfolls
Fishers ponde
Spykeers bay
The Hole
Black Rock
Carlile B
A Scale of five Miles

A topographicall Description and Admeasurement of the YLAND of BARBADOS in the West INDYAES with the Mr. Names of the Seuerall plantacons ꝛꝛ

Southampton Forte, Devonshire Redoute, and Peniston's Redoute - all of which bespeak the close connection between the West of England and the English West Indies, which constituted the major stopping point on the voyage from England to Virginia in the early days.

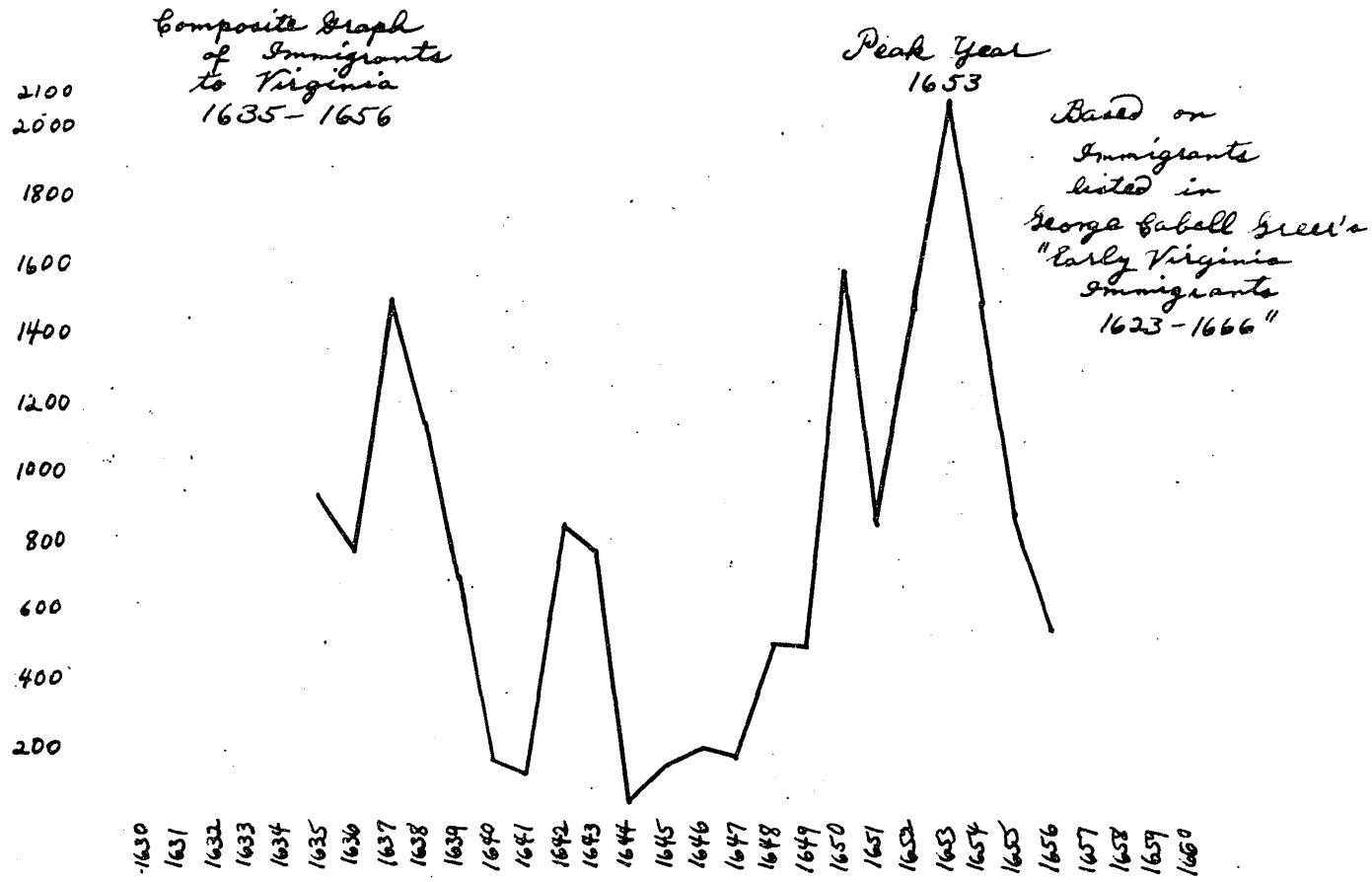
Not only were Westerners prominent among the direct emigrants from England to Virginia, but Westerners in Barbadoes and Bermuda provided a continual reservoir for further colonization of Virginia throughout the seventeenth century. The old map of Barbadoes giving names of all owners of plantation-houses on the island reveals numerous family names usual in Virginia. Merchants and seagoing men in general, both in Virginia and the West Indies islands of the Caribbean, were of West English origin for the most part. The royalist Walrond brothers in Barbadoes, like the royalist Berkeleys in Virginia, came of the same close-knit clan that welded Devon and Gloucester together in the English Civil War and that made Barbadoes and Virginia favor the same party as the West of England in that great struggle.

CHAPTER FOUR - IMMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA, 1607 - 1700

To date only two works have been published which give anything approaching a satisfactory picture of immigration to Virginia in the seventeenth century. Hotten gives some ship lists, it is true, but except for the years 1634, 1635, and 1636, Hotten is practically a blank for information on Virginia immigrants. Greer's Early Virginia Immigrants, compiled from Land Office Records, was a better approach to the problem than any made previous to 1912. Greer purported to cover the years from 1623 through 1666, but within this period not a single immigrant was listed for the following years:

1623
1624
1625
1626
1627
1628
1629
1631
1656
1660
1661
1662
1663
1664
1665
1666.

There were 98 immigrants listed by name for whom no date of arrival was given. One immigrant was listed for 1602 - an obviously absurd date. Six were given for 1694. Numerous misprints and transpositions of digits in the dates detract seriously from the accuracy of the work.


Composite Graph of Immigrants to Virginia 1635-1656
Peak Year 1653
Based on Immigrants listed in George Cabell Greer's "Early Virginia Immigrants 1623-1666"
2100
2000
1800
1600
1400
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
1630
1631
1632
1633
1634
1635
1636
1637
1638
1639
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1653
1654
1655
1656
1657
1658
1659
1660

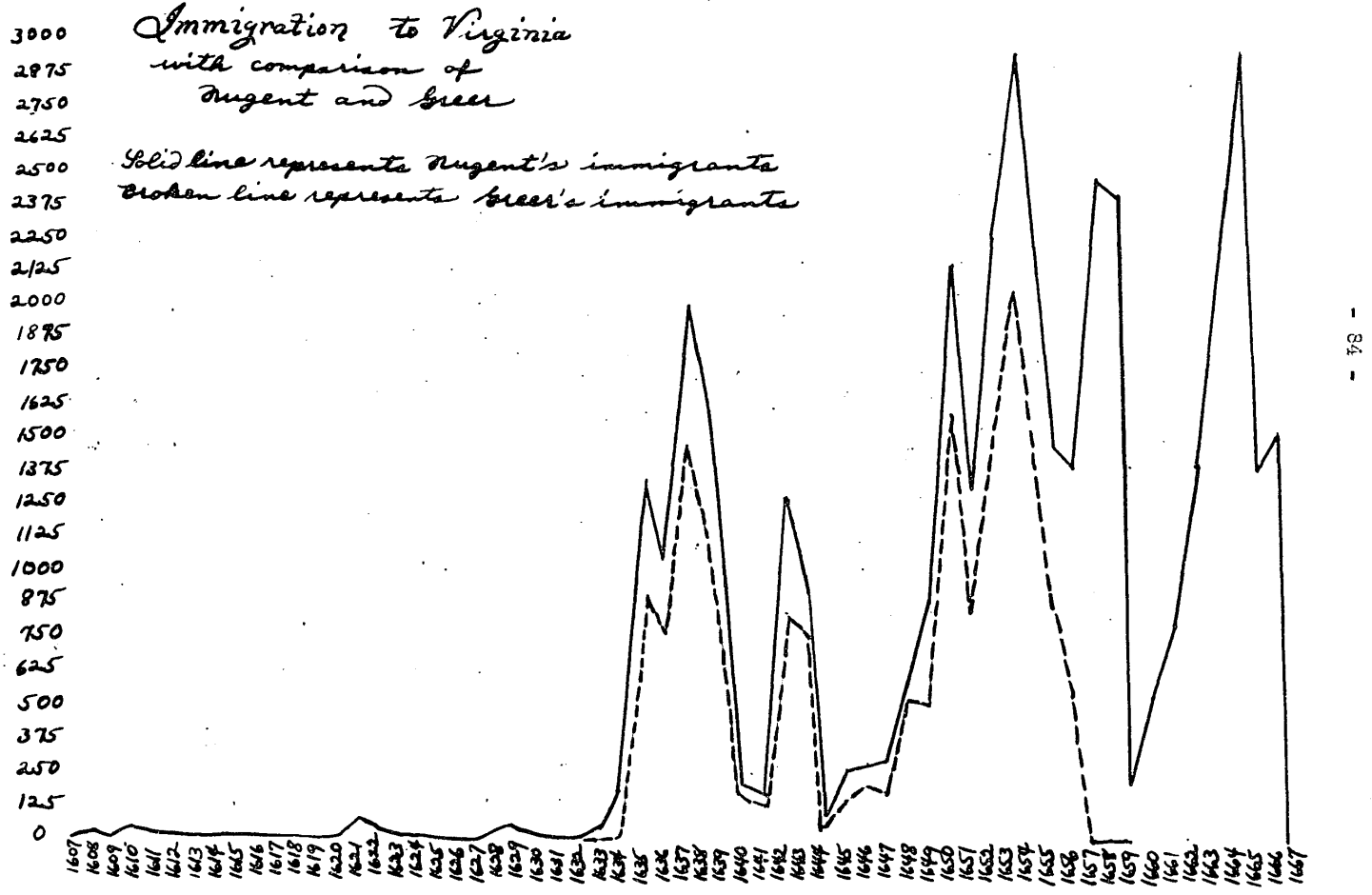
	A 564	B 1924	C 1365	D 750	E 398	F 567	G 898	H 1575	I 48	J 679	K 299	L 768	M 1121	N 345	O 138	P 1109	Q 15	R 806	S 1572	T 745	U 27	V 113	W 1641	X 1	Y 110	Z 0	GRAND TOTAL 17508
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	TOTALS BY YEARS
1630	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1632	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1633	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1634	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1635	34	110	71	22	25	29	51	68	1	46	10	42	52	17	2	67	0	85	89	29	0	7	91	0	9	0	926
1636	23	91	63	34	22	20	30	71	1	28	6	39	36	14	10	47	0	85	64	33	0	7	89	0	7	0	770
1637	39	176	127	47	30	46	88	119	2	65	21	64	83	30	11	90	0	85	125	70	0	13	123	0	14	0	1478
1638	40	124	98	49	33	41	69	103	5	40	13	46	91	13	3	64	1	53	98	44	0	5	104	0	9	0	1146
1639	23	92	49	29	14	24	39	61	1	32	14	28	36	11	0	45	2	42	66	28	0	8	67	0	5	0	716
1640	5	26	14	5	3	6	12	15	1	4	2	7	7	3	0	11	1	6	11	14	0	0	14	0	0	0	167
1641	6	14	14	7	2	5	9	12	0	6	2	3	10	3	0	6	0	6	10	1	0	0	10	0	2	0	128
1642	29	105	65	36	28	23	41	80	3	35	25	33	40	9	3	62	1	50	72	37	2	5	70	0	1	0	855
1643	28	94	66	37	19	35	30	72	5	26	13	32	55	11	5	47	0	36	66	31	1	5	57	0	2	0	773
1644	1	3	6	1	0	2	1	5	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	4	0	2	3	5	0	2	1	0	3	0	46
1645	10	17	16	6	5	7	5	11	0	2	3	4	15	1	1	8	0	7	11	5	0	1	15	0	0	0	150
1646	11	15	15	9	3	7	7	16	0	12	3	8	12	4	1	17	0	6	27	7	1	1	17	0	1	0	200
1647	4	27	6	9	3	4	11	19	0	4	1	8	13	6	0	12	0	5	20	4	0	0	28	0	1	0	183
1648	19	58	32	21	11	18	20	55	0	21	14	26	37	13	4	38	0	28	34	21	0	5	41	0	3	0	519
1649	16	39	48	17	11	21	20	39	1	21	7	29	28	8	5	30	0	23	55	23	0	0	65	0	3	0	504
1650	43	188	131	80	20	44	103	161	1	57	29	61	112	23	6	93	2	61	128	78	7	11	185	0	8	0	1592
1651	37	103	67	29	15	36	42	80	3	21	13	38	64	20	9	44	3	35	83	36	2	6	69	0	2	0	857
1652	48	194	134	62	38	80	75	132	10	50	22	69	94	25	12	94	2	73	129	61	1	10	181	1	13	0	1480
1653	72	203	131	97	58	58	100	196	7	75	44	98	147	80	9	137	2	84	181	90	7	11	210	0	13	0	2070
1654	35	151	99	69	37	43	77	144	1	70	23	68	83	27	14	103	0	71	122	64	4	9	175	0	9	0	1498
1655	18	84	71	57	13	40	42	78	3	42	18	35	62	19	30	54	0	38	83	37	1	2	58	0	1	0	886
1656	20	55	41	15	7	16	25	3	40	21	14	29	46	7	12	36	1	15	55	27	1	5	57	0	3	0	545
1657	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1659	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1694	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

CHART OF IMMIGRANTS TO VIRGINIA 1630-1694 BASED ON GREER'S "EARLY VIRGINIA IMMIGRANTS 1623-1666"

GRAND TOTAL 17,508

Cavaliers and Pioneers (Vol. I), made possible through the generosity of Miss Agnes B. Sitterding of Richmond, Virginia, and the patient abstracting of land patents by Mrs. Nell M. Nugent, Director of the Virginia Land Office at the State Capitol, is by comparison with Greer a work of remarkable accuracy. Graphs have been prepared by the present writer showing immigration by years as derived from Greer as well as Nugent. In preparing the curve from Nugent an attempt was made to subtract all negroes from the headrights - a difficult and tedious task for one person, the absolute mathematical accuracy of which is not guaranteed by the writer. However, it is believed that no serious error has crept in, and the comparison of the two curves arrived at independently speaks for itself. Greer follows Nugent closely. Nugent in all cases gives a higher immigration than that given by Greer - a reasonable consequence of Nugent's inclusion of headright statistics in many cases without actual names of immigrants.

Eagerness of importers to gain land under the headright system in many cases must have caused fictitious claims to be made, so that the real truth lies somewhere between Greer's curve, based on known names of immigrants with only one date of arrival, and Nugent's curve, based on all extant headright claims. Greer appears to have assumed that immigrants came into the colony in the year the land patent was issued carrying their names as headrights; this would not be an unwarranted assumption


Immigration to Virginia
with comparison of
Nugent and Greer
Solid line represents Nugent's immigrants
Broken line represents Greer's immigrants
3000
2875
2750
2625
2500
2375
2250
2125
2000
1875
1750
1625
1500
1375
1250
1125
1000
875
750
625
500
375
250
125
0
1607
1608
1609
1610
1611
1612
1613
1614
1615
1616
1617
1618
1619
1620
1621
1622
1623
1624
1625
1626
1627
1628
1629
1630
1631
1632
1633
1634
1635
1636
1637
1638
1639
1640
1641
1642
1643
1644
1645
1646
1647
1648
1649
1650
1651
1652
1653
1654
1655
1656
1657
1658
1659
1660
1661
1662
1663
1664
1665
1666
1667

if importers of persons lost no time in securing their patents. However, there must have been a certain time-lag involved, which may mean that all curves for immigrants should be shifted slightly to the left. The lag in application and issuance of land patents behind arrival of headrights probably would not materially alter the significance of the statistics here set forth. Since the Land Office records constitute virtually the sole source of our information on this vital subject, it would be absurd to reject the conclusions to be derived from them. Some evidence is more valuable to the historian than none at all.

The following years of immigration are given with the numbers of settlers listed by Greer to show that his work should have been entitled Early Virginia Immigrants, "1635-1656."

1630.....5
1632.....1
1633.....1
1634.....2

1657.....2
1659.....2

In preparing the accompanying chart of immigration to Virginia Nugent, Greer, and ship data gleaned from a host of sources were utilized. For the first twenty-three years of the colony Greer is a complete blank. Nugent gives a wholly inadequate picture, and the picture presented by ship list figures is clearly short of the total immigration

CHART OF IMMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA, 1607 - 1700

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS

Year	Land Patent Sources Nugent	Land Patent Sources Greer	Other Sources Ship Lists
1607	2	-	263
1608	16	-	130
1609	9	-	152
1610	31	-	304
1611	23	-	27
1612	3	-	85
1613	9	-	45
1614	1	-	5
1615	2	-	47
1616	18	-	51
1617	17	-	123
1618	12	-	897
1619	8	-	1260
1620	6	-	1484
1621	77	-	980
1622	50	-	876
1623	20	0	391
1624	23	0	82
1625	2	0	7
1626	0	0	0
1627	3	0	0
1628	47	0	52
1629	40	0	35
1630	14	5	0
1631	11	0	0
1632	1	1	3
1633	30	1	11
1634	178	2	202
1635	1283	926	2057
1636	1046	770	0
1637	1997	1478	3
1638	1635	1146	36
1639	947	716	0
1640	197	167	0
1641	160	128	20
1642	1274	855	0
1643	931	773	3
1644	77	46	0
1645	264	150	0
1646	282	200	0
1647	295	183	0
1648	663	519	0
1649	885	504	330
1650	2167	1592	0

Year	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS: Land Patent Sources Nugent	Land Patent Sources Greer	Other Sources Ship Lists
1651	1320	857	0
1652	2264	1480	141
1653	2952	2070	0
1654	2168	1498	3
1655	1493	886	0
1656	1396	545	0
1657	2493	2	0
1658	2424	0	0
1659	214	2	0
1660	533	0	0
1661	934	0	0
1662	1119	0	0
1663	2456	0	0
1664	2977	0	0
1665	1382	0	0
1666	1550	0	0
1667	1	-	0
1668		-	0
1669		-	0
1670	Period	-	0
1671		-	0
1672		-	0
1673		-	0
1674		-	0
1675	Covered	-	0
1676		-	0
1677		-	0
1678		-	0
1679	by	-	57
1680		-	0
1681		-	0
1682		-	0
1683	Unpublished	-	0
1684		-	0
1685		-	0
1686		-	0
1687	Volume	-	0
1688		-	0
1689		-	0
1690	II	-	0
1691		-	0
1692		-	0
1693		-	0
1694	of	6	0
1695			0
1696			0
1697			0
1698			0
1699			0
1700	Nugent		0

for the period in spite of the inclusion in the figures of the same immigrants for different years where the ships they came in are known but not the exact dates of arrival. From 1630 until the end of the period considered, Nugent is by far the most reliable source for immigration statistics. The immigration, which was high from 1635 through 1638 and again from 1650 through 1658 and from 1662 through 1666, was at other times slack. The longest period of continued mass emigration to Virginia from England was in the period of the Commonwealth, and it would not seem an unwarranted conclusion to draw that the bulk of these migrants were Royalists embittered by the death of their King. The two highest years of immigration appear to have been 1653 and 1664 with 2952 and 2977 immigrants respectively. Unquestionably the immigrants of 1653 were refugees from Cromwell's government, for the most part. No doubt there was a number of republicans among the 1664 emigrants, but there must have been a substantial number of erstwhile Royalists who, disappointed at Charles II's magnanimity to the Roundheads, left their native land in a disgruntled frame of mind.

The earlier peak of immigration to Virginia can be traced to Laud's persecution of dissenters coupled with the wool depression in East Anglia. It was, no doubt, responsible for the presence of such Puritans as reached the Virginia colony. The two later peaks in all probability represent

enormous emigrations from England of King's-men, who, whether they reached the colony as indentured servants, broken aristocrats, or moneyed gentry, nevertheless imparted to it the Cavalier tone, acknowledged by earlier historians, but derided as a myth by a new school of "debunkers."

Indeed, Lipson, the economic historian of England, states that after the Restoration there was a clear consciousness among Englishmen at home that England was underpopulated. Their eagerness to curb emigration at all costs accounts, no doubt, for the slack immigration to Virginia during the later Restoration period. But of even greater significance are the social implications of the fact stated by Lipson. England had lost something of value in the pre-Restoration emigration. Whether it was the loss of the laborers who had done the work in England or whether it was the loss of capable and respectable members of the gentry and landed classes, the net result is patent to a reasonable mind: shiftless persons, by and large, had not been the emigrants; convicts, beggars, gipsies, sturdy rogues, and vagabonds must have constituted only a fraction of the emigrants; had they not been such, Englishmen after the Restoration would have regarded the earlier population loss as "good riddance of bad rubbish." Remittance-men and convicts Virginia undoubtedly received among Mugent's 42,755 and Greer's 17,508 immigrants. But how negligible the number of these was among the total population can be seen from the consideration given to malefactors in the colony in Chapter Six.

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THE INCONVENIENCIES

THAT HAVE HAPPENED TO SOME PERSONS WHICH HAVE TRANSPORTED THEMSELVES

from *England* to *Virginia*, without prouisions necessary to sustaine themselues, hath *greatly hindred the Progresse of that noble Plantation: For preuention of the like disorders* hereafter, that no man suffer, either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought requisite to publish this short declaration: wherein is contained a particular of such necessaries, *as either priuate families or single persons shall haue cause to furnish themselues with, for their better support at their first Landing in* Virginia; *whereby also greater numbers may receiue in part, directions how to prouide themselues.*

Apparrell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

Apparrell.

	li.	s.	d.
One Monmouth Cap	00	01	10
Three falling bands	—	01	03
Three shirts	—	07	06
One waste-coate	—	02	02
One suite of Canuase	—	07	06
One suite of Frize	—	10	00
One suite of Cloth	—	15	00
Three paire of Irish stockins	—	04	—
Foure paire of shooes	—	08	08
One paire of garters	—	00	10
One doozen of points	—	00	03
One paire of Canuase sheets	—	08	00
Seuen ells of Canuase, to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia* 8.s.	—	08	00
One Rug for a bed 8. s. which with the bed seruing for two men, halfe is	—	08	00
Fiue ells coorse Canuase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw, iiij. s.	—	05	00
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost vj. s. is for one	—	—	—
	04	00	00

For a whole yeere for one man, and so for more after the rate.

Victuall.

	li.	s.	d.
Eight bushels of Meale	02	00	00
Two bushels of pease at 3.s.	—	06	00
Two bushels of Oatemeale 4.s. 6.d.	—	09	00
One gallon of *Aquauite*	—	02	06
One gallon of Oyle	—	03	06
Two gallons of Vineger 1. s.	—	02	00
	03	03	00

For one man, but if halfe of your men haue armour it is sufficient so that all haue Peeces and swords.

Armes.

	li.	s.	d.
One Armour compleat, light	—	17	00
One long Peece, fiue foot or fiue and a halfe, neere Musket bore	01	02	—
One sword	—	05	—
One belt	—	01	—
One bandaleere	—	01	06
Twenty pound of powder	—	18	00
Sixty pound of shot or lead, Pistoll and Goose shot	—	05	00
	03	09	06

For a family of 6. persons and so after the rate for more.

Tooles.

	li.	s.	d.
Fiue broad howes at 2.s. a piece	—	10	—
Fiue narrow howes at 16.d. a piece	—	06	08
Two broad Axes at 3.s. 8.d. a piece	—	07	04
Fiue felling Axes at 18.d. a piece	—	07	06
Two steele hand sawes at 16.d. a piece	—	02	08
Two two-hand-sawes at 5. s. a piece	—	10	—
One whip-saw, set and filed with box, file, and wrest	—	10	—
Two hammers 12.d. a piece	—	02	00
Three shouels 18.d. a piece	—	04	06
Two spades at 18.d. a piece	—	03	—
Two augers 6.d. a piece	—	01	00
Sixe chissels 6.d. a piece	—	03	00
Two percers stocked 4.d. a piece	—	00	08
Three gimlets 2.d. a piece	—	00	06
Two hatchets 2 1.d. a piece	—	03	06
Two froues to cleaue pale 18.d.	—	03	00
Two hand-bills 20. a piece	—	03	04
One grindlestone 4.s.	—	04	00
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	02	00	—
Two Pickaxes	—	03	—
	06	02	08

For a family of 6. persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

Houshold Implements.

	li.	s.	d.
One Iron Pot	00	07	—
One kettle	—	06	—
One large frying-pan	—	02	06
One gridiron	—	01	06
Two skillets	—	05	—
One spit	—	02	—
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood	—	04	—
	01	08	00
For Suger, Spice, and fruit, and at Sea for 6. men	00	12	06
So the full charge of Apparrell, Victuall, Armes, Tooles, and houshold stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount vnto about the summe of	12	10	—
The passage of each man is	06	00	—
The fraight of these prouisions for a man, will bee about halfe a Tun, which is	01	10	—
So the whole charge will amount to about	20	00	00

Nets, hookes, lines, and a tent must be added, if the number of people be greater, as also some kine.

And this is the vsuall proportion that the Virginia *Company doe bestow vpon their Tenants which they send.*

Whosoeuer transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge vnto *Virginia*, shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1625. haue to him and his heires for euer fifty Acres of Land vpon a first, and fifty Acres vpon a second diuision.

Imprinted at London by FELIX KYNGSTON. 1622.

Although the accompanying imprint of 1622 showing "The Inconveniencies that Have Happened to Some Persons which Have Transported themselves from England to Virginia, without Provisions Necessary to Sustain themselves" cannot be cited as a proof that even many immigrants arrived well supplied with the goods of this world, it does show that at least from 1622 the "adventure" to Virginia was an experience not to be entered into lightly but rather was to be prepared for well in advance, and the better the economic status of the prospective emigrant from England, the better were his chances of survival in the New World.

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CHAPTER FIVE - VIRGINIA'S POPULATION, 1607 - 1700

The seventeenth century saw the population of Virginia grow from approximately one hundred whites to approximately eighty-five thousand whites. The population figures are in many cases so conflicting, that an effort has been made to indicate every population figure encountered and to arrive at valid conclusions as to the correct figures through the years. The population question is greatly complicated by the presence of Indians, negroes, and as time went on, half-breeds and mulattoes. The present study is one of whites. For some years, as can be seen from Appendix VII, there is no population figure given.

The excellent Population Study Report No. 4, "Virginia's People," by Miss Sara K. Gilliam of the Virginia State Planning Board, is a study of the growth and distribution of the population of Virginia from 1607 to 1943. [1] Chart I and Appendix Table I therein, relating to the period covered by the present study, are based on A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900, [2] but it is to be doubted

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1. Sara K. Gilliam, "Virginia's People, A Study of the Growth and Distribution of the Population of Virginia from 1607 to 1943," Population Study Report No. 4, Population Study, Virginia State Planning Board, Richmond, Virginia, 1944.

2. A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

whether all the manuscript sources available to the author and to Dr. Evarts B. Greene in his study of American population before 1790 [3] were fully utilized in the compilation of the official report, which lists the following population figures by decades:

	Population	% increase over previous decade
1610	210	
1620	2,400	1042.9
1630	3,000	25.0
1640	7,647	154.9
1650	17,000	122.3
1660	33,000	94.1
1670	40,000	21.2
1680	49,000	22.5
1690	58,000	18.4
1700	72,000	24.1

It will be noted that if the above figures be accepted as correct, the largest population increase for any decade of the seventeenth century falls between 1650 and 1660. The previous chapter has shown that almost 19,000 immigrants came to Virginia in this decade, more than in any other equal period of Virginia's first century. This is precisely what Lord Clarendon meant when he said that "the plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time." [4] Although the 16,000 increase shown in the table above represented an

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3. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1932), 134-137.

4. Supra, page 6.

accretion of only 94.1% as compared with earlier increases of 104.2.9%, 154.9%, and 122.3%, nevertheless the increases for the earlier decades possessed little significance inasmuch as the population was then so much smaller. The 16,000 increase from 1650 to 1660 exceeds the 2,190; 600; 4,647; 9,353; 7,000; 9,000; 9,000; and 14,000 increases for other decades of the seventeenth century. The tremendous significance of the increase from 1650 to 1660 is more striking when it is borne in mind that the greater population in Virginia during the later decades of the century had more potential multiplying power and hence the accretion due to native births within the colony was continually increasing; this fact highlights the immigrant, as distinguished from the native-born elements in the total 16,000 increase from 1650 to 1660. Population increase after 1660 in Virginia, except for the peak year 1664, was due more largely to native births than it had been before, for the Civil War had uprooted whole families from the mother country, whereas in the early days of the Virginia colony individual adventurers, for the most part, had emigrated and the London Company itself gave attention to the matter of supplying brides for the colonists.[5]

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5. John B. Manahan, "A Colonial Brides' Ship," American Notes & Queries, VI (April, 1946), 10-12.

Graph showing
Virginia's Population
1607 - 1700
100,000
90,000
80,000
70,000
60,000
50,000
40,000
30,000
20,000
10,000
1607
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
1640
1645
1650
1655
1660
1665
1670
1675
1680
1685
1690
1695
1700
Immigrants 1630-1639
Immigrants 1640-1649
Immigrants 1650-1660
Steepest immigration in 17th century
Steepest population increase in 17th century due to natural increase in the colony

If the largest increase in the population of the Virginia colony occurred as a result of emigrations from an England in which Puritans constituted the ruling class and Cavaliers were excluded from office, it is only a logical deduction that the bulk of the migrants was made up of opponents of the officeholding class, dissatisfied members of the "Outs," or in other words, Cavalier King's men.

Analysis of the population figures given in the Appendix (VII) has led the present writer to advance the following table of population figures by decades, which may be compared with the official figures:

WHITE POPULATION OF THE VIRGINIA COLONY

Year	Author's figure	Official figure
1610	350	210
1620	900	2,400
1630	2,500	3,000
1640	8,000	7,647
1650	15,000	17,000
1660	33,000	33,000
1670	38,000	40,000
1680	65,000	49,000
1690	70,000	58,000
1700	85,000	72,000

It is quite possible that the author's estimate makes too great a jump in the decade 1670 to 1680, when all indications are that immigration was down. However, multiplication within the colony itself should have been extremely rapid,

due to the removal of whole families rather than bachelors during the Commonwealth period. Lord Culpeper said in 1681 that there were 70,000 or 80,000 in the colony, of whom 3,000 were blacks. Unless Lord Culpeper (whose most conservative estimate of his own colony tops that of the present author) was greatly mistaken about a population dwelling within his ken, there must have been a considerable increase among the native white population in the decade from 1670 to 1680. Bacon's Rebellion could not have had any appreciable effect in diminishing the population, and the days of Indian massacres were past. The increase in population in the later period in no way weakens the Cavalier theory, inasmuch as the political and social complexion of the population had been determined by the character of the earlier immigration and multiplication among the white settlers in Virginia merely increased the number of those whose pulses beat quicker with ancestral pride at the mention of Edgehill or Brentford.

Indeed, if Cavalier migrants to Virginia from West England ran true to form, it is hazarded that they had on the average larger families than emigrants from East England; natural increase alone, on this supposition, would in time have produced a marked preponderance of persons of Cavalier blood over those of Puritan blood in the colony of Virginia, even had the Cavaliers not been in a majority in the earlier days.

CHAPTER SIX - ENGLISH MALEFACTORS AND AMERICAN PIRATES IN THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA

William H. Whitmore, the distinguished Massachusetts antiquarian, has exhibited, perhaps, as much emotional bias against the Virginia colony as any other writer. His The Cavalier Dismounted, which appeared at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1864, when feelings in New England were anything but amicable toward the South, is a neatly-drawn arraignment of Virginians in particular. He stated that he proposed to show that the South's English element was not of gentle origin, that the slave-owners of Virginia and the Carolinas usurped the name of gentlemen, which they were enabled to do, inasmuch as they had a sufficient intermixture of that class to serve as a screen. In spite of the strong language employed by Mr. Whitmore, who asserts that English workhouses and gaols sent their swarms to people Virginia and the other Southern colonies, his pamphlet fails utterly to smear the population of Virginia in the seventeenth century. His felons sentenced at Old Bailey were sent to Virginia in the eighteenth century, beginning apparently in 1717. Whitmore, whose desire was to prove that the "Southern gentlemen" of 1864 were descendants of criminals, has done a valuable service to the historian of seventeenth century Virginia, inasmuch as he has virtually admitted that before 1717 Virginia was free of Old World criminals. Outside of a mere hundred dissolute persons sent to Virginia

at the order of King James I in 1619-20 and a notice that Captains Bristow and Walbier were required to give security in the amount of one million pounds in tobacco and cash that Mr. Nevett would send out the "Newgate birds" in 1671, Whitmore gives the colony a clean bill of health. [1]

He relied rather heavily on certain statements made by Dr. William Douglass in 1749 that the plantations in America, New England excepted, had been generally settled by malcontents with the administrations, fraudulent debtors, and convicts or criminals who chose transportation rather than death. The same writer called Virginia and Maryland "for many years a sink for transported criminals." This statement, no doubt, referred to the convicts transported after 1717, inasmuch as Whitmore pointed out that the first statute to use the word "transport" was a "dead-letter" - the statute of 1666 (18 Charles II), whereby judges were empowered at their own discretion to execute or transport to America for life the moss-troopers of Cumberland and Northumberland and others. The provisions of the statute, according to Whitmore, were little used till the reign of George I, and it was the statutes of 1718 and 1720 which started the flow of convicts to Virginia.

Much has been said by some persons of the plebeian character

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1. William H. Whitmore, The Cavalier Dismounted (Salem, 1864).

of the population of Virginia in its first century, which, as may be seen from Appendix XV, included at least six hundred colonists whose names, at least, would qualify them for an English social register before the Wars of the Roses. To bear out their argument, these persons declare that prisoners for debt were flung into Jamestown and that convicts in number were transported to Virginia. Their argument is lent credence by the fact that many "persons of quality" who came to Virginia were by no means free from the toils of the law, especially Puritan law. Politics must have been in the mind of William Hallam, a walter of Burnham in Essex, who in 1656 wrote to his brother-in-law in Virginia:

> I would wish I could hear in what condition you live in, for I fear if these troublous times hold long among us, we must all faine come to Virginia.

A political prisoner taken on the field of Worcester whose only crime was that he had stood loyally by his King cannot properly be classified as a convict. The De Jarnette Papers in the State Library at Richmond reveal two cases exactly in point to illustrate the political nature of imprisonment in England during the Interregnum:

> 1655, September. Warrant for apprehension and committal to the Tower of General Robert Venables, General of the English Forces sent to America, for having deserted the army contrary to his trust. Dated Sept. 20, 1655.
>
> 1655, 20 Sept. Similar warrant for the apprehension and committal of General W. Penn, General of the English Fleet sent to America. [2]

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2. De Jarnette Papers, Virginia State Library, I, 71-72.

In times when a Venables and a Penn could be made prisoners in summary fashion, it is easy to picture the treatment of lesser folk of respectable background who were afflicted with congenital hotheadedness!

Throughout the seventeenth century in England the religious and political quarrels that ran through society from top to bottom made liberty a matter of comparative chance for English subjects. In 1685 the West Country supporters of the Duke of Monmouth (a Protestant, of illegitimate birth) could hardly be denominated common murderers simply because they would fight before they would see a return of Catholicism to the English throne in the form of James II. Indentured servants for years they became, it is true, and large numbers of them went to the West Indies and fewer to Virginia (in spite of Fiske and Butler, who thought none came) [3]. But to say that these persons were criminals in any but a technical sense would be a grievous error.

Indeed, one of the most telling arguments that may be brought to bear upon the validity of the theory developed so far in this study is that if Virginia was settled largely by West Country people, then it must have been ipso facto a criminal enterprise; for no greater degree of lawlessness,

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3. Supra, page 58.

From A. L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the "Revenge", (London, 1937), 331.

piracy, and freebooting existed anywhere in England than in Cornwall and to a lesser extent in Devonshire, where the arm of justice was not long enough to reach malefactors so readily as in areas closer to the seat of government. The Cornish gentleman-thug, Sir Humphrey Pengallen, so vividly depicted in fiction by Daphne Du Maurier in Jamaica Inn, was a type of West Country outlaw dating back as far as Baldwin de Redvers, the pirate Earl of Devon in King Stephen's time, and familiar in England from the time of Elizabeth on. If Virginia was a criminal colony in this sense, little is lost to the Cavalier theory by the admission. Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Grenville, and all the typical Elizabethan sea-dogs revelled in the rule of rapine on the high seas, particularly when a rich Spanish prize was involved. Sir Thomas Lunsford, whose appointment to the captaincy of London Tower gave rise to the first Roundhead demonstration in England and who later emigrated to Virginia, in his shortcomings, as in his noble qualities, was a representative of the Elizabethan tradition of "derring-do." A man of little education, of lawless disposition and violent temper in his youth, he attempted the murder of his kinsman, Sir Thomas Pelham, in 1632. Termed by the Earl of Dorset "that young Outlaw Mr. Lunsford, who fears neither God nor man," he was outlawed, fined £6000 and forced to flee to the continent and enter the French service. His

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enemies wrote of him:

> From Fielding and from Vavasour
> Both ill-affected men
> From Lunsford eke deliver us,
> Who eateth up children.
>
> The post that came from Danbury
> Riding on a blue rocket,
> He swore he saw where Lunsford fell
> A child's arm in his pocket.
>
> They fear the giblets of his train
> Even his dog, that four-legged cavalier;
> He that devours the scraps that Lunsford makes,
> Whose picture feeds upon a child in steaks.

This baby-eater and veritable Gruesome of Claverhouse was a man who could say:

> I stand here before you a prisoner, accused of high treason, and liberty is offered me, 'tis true; but you value it, like the merchants, at such a rate that my fidelity, and all that is due to a noble mind, must be the price to purchase it. If I refuse what you propose, racks, torture, loss of goods, land, and perhaps of life itself, is threatened. Hard choice! Yet I must choose. It is in my power to be a freeman; but how if I will be a slave?...For my part I am in your power. Howsoever you dispose of me, I will never stain mine ancestors, nor leave the title of traitor upon my posterity, but will end with the saying of a worthy gentleman: You may, when you please, take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign. [4]

Although he narrowly escaped murder at the hands of Puritan fanatics, Lunsford lived to come to Virginia and be a member of the Council. Although from Sussex, he fits

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4. William G. Stanard, "Note - Sir Thomas Lunsford," Virginia Magazine of History & Biography, XVII (1909), 26-33, 31.

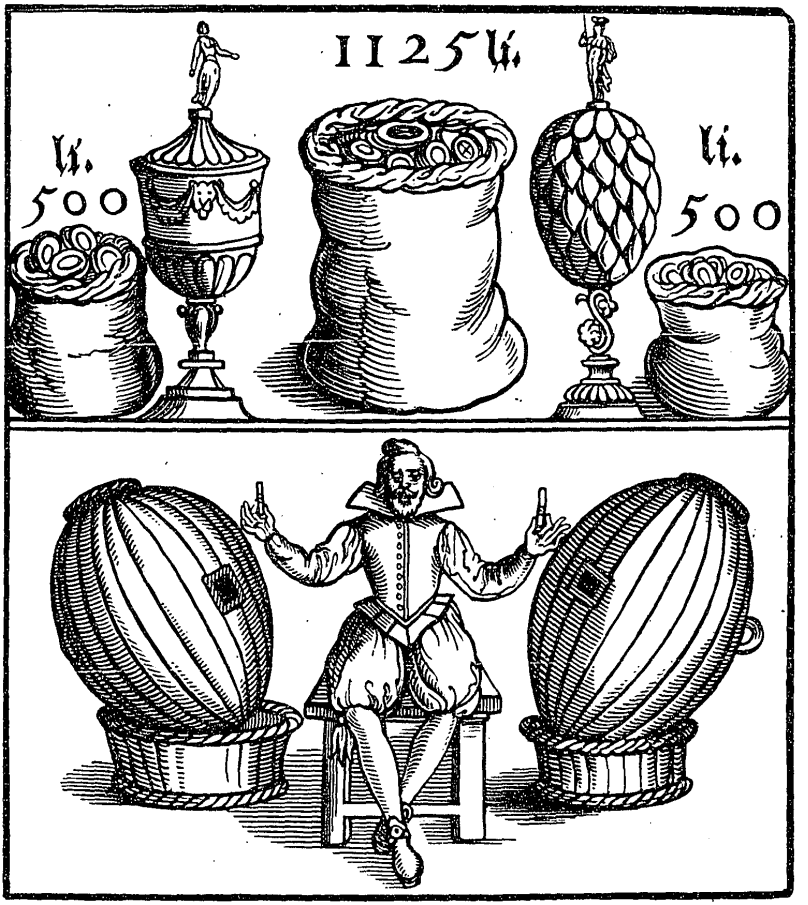
the pattern of a Celtic Royalist, inasmuch as his mother's family, the Fludds, were genuine Welsh by way of Shropshire and Kent who owed their advancement in the world to the Tudors.

Malefactors and Cavaliers had certain traits in common, it is true; but your Cavalier was not the garden variety of common cutthroat who landed in an English gaol. His conception of the role he played was exaggerated, if you please, but he had infinite contempt for petty malefactors of all sorts. Life was to the typical Cavalier a sort of gamble; financing the colony on a lottery would have appealed as much to the Cavalier exiles of 1650 as it did to the Treasurer for Virginia in 1615, Sir Thomas Smith.

What of those whom Dame Fortune had seen fit to incarcerate for petty malefactions? Were they numerous in the Virginia colony? Did they impart a flavor and tone to society on the shores of the James and the Rappahannock that bespoke their inherent birthright as scions of the dregs of old England? Was their lawlessness transmitted by blood to Lee and his "Rebels"?

It is not denied by this author that some prisoners for debt were flung into Jamestown. Malefactors Virginia had to a certain extent, and the greatest difficulty in arriving at any true picture of their actual numbers has arisen from the natural tendency of misdoers to hide or gild their shady past.

1616, Feb. 22. **151.** A Declaration for the certaine time of Drawing the Great standing Lottery for Virginia; fixing the same to take place on the 26th of June next.



Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston for VVilliam VVelby the 22 of Februarie, 1615.

From Robert Lemon, Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London (London, 1866).

It is not in Virginia, but in England, that records of malefactors shipped to Virginia are to be found, if such exist. Exhaustive research has brought to light some three hundred-odd malefactors shipped to Virginia in the seventeenth century exclusive of war prisoners, Monmouth rebels, and pirates who preyed upon Virginia shipping.

In spite of the declaration of the Virginia Company of 1609 that it would accept no man for Virginia who could not bring testimonials that he was moral and religious, slurs upon the good name of the colony were expressed early in England. Daniel Price (1581-1631) on May 28, 1609, in London delivered the Rogation Sunday sermon at St. Paul's Cross, which was later printed under the title Savle prohibition staide. Or the apprehension, and examination of Savle. And the inditement of all that persecute Christ, with a reproofe of those that traduce the honorable plantation of Virginia. A debate arose in Parliament on February 14, 1609/10, as to whether Sir George Somers's appointment as Governor of Virginia required him to relinquish his seat in Commons; Sir George Moore remarked:

> Sir George Somers ought not to be removed; it is no disgrace, but a grace to be Governor in Virginia.

The preacher of a sermon in 1610 did not deny that base and disordered men had been sent to Virginia, but he added "the basest and worst men trained up in a severe discipline,

a hard life, etc., do prove good citizens."

In 1611 Governor Dale requested the King to "Banish hither all offenders condemned to die out of common goales, and likewise to continue that grant for three years unto the colonie (and thus doth the Spaniard people his Indes) it would be a readie way to furnish us with men, and not allways with the worst kind of men." His request appears to have been ignored, but in 1617 Sir Thomas Smith secured from Oxford gaol five reprieved prisoners "to be transported to Virginia, or other parts beyond the seas." Felons, like Knott and Throckmorton, came from Newgate Prison to Virginia in 1618. One Rogers, sentenced to be hanged for manslaughter, was transported to Virginia "quia est de Arte le Carpentar"; this reflects the serious lack of artisans in the early days of the colony.

Sir George Moore's view, already referred to, was borne out by the statement of the purposes of the Virginia Company made by the Earl of Southampton in 1620:

> The Company who have gained so hopeful a country, which they have bought and compounded for with the natives, and which when once well peopled by English Colonies will find full employment for all needy people in this land, who now begin to swarm in this blessed time of peace under his Majesties happy reign: will provide estates likewise for all the younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom, and also a ready and lasting supply to this Nation of those commodities which in our present condition we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea from heathen princes.

The idyllic picture was somewhat marred by the arrival in May, 1620, of the good ship "Duty," Captain John Damyron, commanding, with fifty "Bridewell vagabonds." [5] In 1622 came two felons, Carter and Francke. [6] Probably the boys who arrived at Jamestown on April 3, 1623, were also vagabonds from the London streets. As to the women sent to Virginia, when Captain John Bargrave accused Sir Thomas Smyth of sending insufficient and corrupt women to Virginia, Sir Nathaniel Rich replied that he had sent a great many and those of the best he could get, one of whom married a man later knighted and elevated to the governorship.

Henry Woodhouse, Governor of Bermuda, wrote to London in 1627 that one-third of the settlers there were disposed to go to Virginia. This would hardly have been true if Virginia had been regarded as a sink of iniquity. Thomas Dew and Benjamin Harrison, among others, are cited by Neill as having left Bermuda about this time for Virginia.

Before the end of James I's reign two criminals, Elizabeth Hendsley and Ralph Rookes, were sent to Virginia. [7] The order to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex of July 8, 1635,

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5. Edward D. Neill, "Notes on American History; xii. Ships Arriving at Jamestown from the Settlement of Virginia until the Revocation of the Charter of the London Company," The New England Historical & Genealogical Register, XXX (1876), 417.
6. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33.
7. James D. Butler, loc. cit., 12-33, 17.

mentions the following prisoners to be sent to Virginia: [8]

Maurice Cavenaugh
Richard Greene
Jane Wood
Anthony Bromley
Mary Fortescue
John Humfreys
Margaret Challicombe
Joan Howell
Jane Pryn
Elizabeth Branscombe
Mary Burbeck
Elianor Sutton
Elizabeth Williams
Thomas Merry.

The order of the King to the sheriff of Kent of December 5, 1635, deals with John Tallford, miller, convicted of stealing a mare, and provides that he be transported to Virginia. [9]

The order of May 19, 1636, to the Sheriffs of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Herts lists the following prisoners, all of whom were sent to Virginia: [10]

William Savage
John Richardson
Thomas Browne alias Anderson
Richard Martyn
John Skeete
George Garrett

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8. Sainsbury Abstracts, Virginia State Library, XIII, 120. It is of interest here to note that Cavenaugh is an Irish name; Fortescue, Challicombe, and Branscombe are Devonshire names; and Howell, Pryn, and Williams are Welsh names.
9. Sainsbury Abstracts, XIII, 136.
10. Sainsbury Abstracts, XIII, 157.

On February 5, 1638/9, according to the Domestic Docquet of Charles I, there was a warrant to the Sheriff of Surrey and the keeper of the gaol of White Lion, Southwark, to deliver to William Flemmer of London, Gent., the bodies of

Francis Osborne alias Shillinge
Alice Williams, and
Five others

condemned prisoners in the said gaol to be transported to Virginia with the proviso that if they "remain here above twenty days after their enlargement," or return without license, then they are to be executed. [11]

In the 1640's, according to Butler, there were "others" sent to Virginia, but he makes no specific mention of any names. The Scotch prisoners at Preston in 1648 were shipped to Barbadoes, and Butler states that there is no proof that any of the Drogheda prisoners of 1649 were sent to Virginia; Cromwell made a statement once linking them with Barbadoes, and it would seem that that island absorbed them all.

That Virginia in 1649 and 1650 was not just a dungeon for malefactors may be seen from the titles of two pamphlets:

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11. Sainsbury Abstracts, XIV, 64.

William Bullock, gent., Virginia impartially examined, and left to publick view, to be considered by all iudicious and honest men. Under which title, is comprehended the degrees from 34 to 39, wherein lyes the rich and healthfull countries of Roanock, the now plantations of Virginia and Mary-land. Looke not upon this booke, as those that are set out by private men, for private ends; for being read, you'l find, the public good is the author's onely aime. For this piece is no other than the adventurers or planters faithfull steward, disposing the adventure for the best advantage, advising people of all degrees, from the highest master, to the meanest servant, how suddenly to raise their fortunes. Peruse the table, and you shall finde the way plainely layd down. By William Bvllock, gent.

Edward Williams, gent. of London, Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia richly and truly valued.

In 1650 two vessels were sent out from London with prisoners for Virginia. [12] On September 19, 1650, the Council of State ordered 900 Scotch prisoners taken at Dunbar to be delivered to Samuel Clark for transportation to Virginia and 200 to Isaac Le Gay for the same purpose. In view of the order of October 23 to stay these prisoners, Gardiner has asserted that there is no proof that these political prisoners were sent abroad at all. However, delays and abrupt changes of orders characterized the military then as now, and at least one similar order holding up prisoners in the Commonwealth period in no way altered their final destination. Probably Gardiner's deduction that they did not go to Virginia is incorrect. At least 150 of the Scots from Dunbar went on the "Unity" to New England in 1650, and in the following year 272

12. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33, 14.

of the Worcester prisoners were shipped to the same place.

Ballagh, Bancroft, Bruce, and Stanard are in agreement that all or nearly all of the 1610 Worcester prisoners destined for Virginia arrived there. Butler scales the number down to 150 of whom we can be certain. [13]

On September 10 and again on September 22, 1651, orders of the Council of State regarding prisoners to be sent to Virginia appear. [14]

> 1651, Sept. 25. That the Committee for Prisoners have power to dispose of the Scots Ministers who are prisoners so as the Merchants for every 200 men they have do carry over one Scottish Minister gratis and that when they come there they may be free from servitude.

The order of September 22, 1651, reflects an effort to retain birds of finer plumage among the King's followers: [15]

> Order of the Council of State that the Committee for Prisoners do not pass away to the Plantations or otherwise dispose of any Lieutenants or Cornets of Horse or any above that quality - And that such of that quality or above if any be already disposed by them that they can conveniently have brought again into their power that they give other private soldiers in lieu of them.

On September 24, 1653, we find the order of the Council permitting transportation of the Irish Tories to Virginia: [16]

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13. James D. Butler, loc. cit., 14.
14. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 61, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, L, 74-75.
15. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 60, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, L, 74-75.
16. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 115, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, XCVIII, 405.

Order of the Council of State. Permit for transportation of Irish Tories to Virginia. Order of the Council that liberty be granted to Richard Netherway of Bristol to transport from Ireland to Virginia 100 of the Irish Toryes.

In the same year we find the warrant for return of Bart. Broome to his parents: [17]

1653, November 15. Orders of the Council of State in regard to transporting vagrants to the colonies. Warrant for return of Bart. Broome, aged 11 (kidnapped on a Virginia ship), to his parents.

Also:

1653, April 1. Order of the Council of State that license be granted to Sir John Clotworthie, Knt., to transport into America 500 natural Irish men. [18]

1653, November 15. Commission appointed to consider of the propositions made by Mr. James Freez concerning the transportation of vagrant persons to foreign Plantations and to report their opinions to the Council. [19]

1654, October 19. Order of the Council of State. Whereas several persons taken in hostility against this Commonwealth as pirates are now prisoners in the gaol at Dorchester, Ordered by his highness the Lord Protector and his Council that such of the said prisoners as are English Scotch, or Irish shall be forthwith sent to the Barbadoes, Bermudas, or some other of the English plantations in America. (Special measures to be taken in case of the French.) [20]

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17. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 117, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, C, 63-64.
18. Ibid., IV, 103, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, LXIX, 45. It is of interest that Clotworthie is an old Devonshire name, indicating that this transporter of colonists was in all probability a Southwesterner.
19. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 117.
20. Ibid., IV, 136.

In 1655, according to Butler, ten felons, including six women, were sent to Virginia.[21] In the same year appear two other records of interest:

> 1655, June 29. Order of Protector and Council in regard to transporting Irish to Virginia. Petition of Armiger Warner who prays indemnity against an £800 bond with John Jeffreys of London to transport 100 Irish to Virginia (the ship having been impressed for State service in Ireland).[22]
>
> 1655/6, January 18. Petition of Edward Penruddocke and George Duke, prisoners at Exon, that they might be sent to Virginia instead of Barbadoes. Granted by Major General Disbrowe, Major General of the Western Counties. Order of his highness and Council on petition of Edward Penruddocke and George Duke now prisoners at Exon. Ordered that upon sufficient security given before Major General Disbrowe, Major General of the Western Counties, that they shall embark themselves for Virginia within three months and not return from thence without special license, and that in the meantime not to act or attempt anything to the prejudice of his Highness or the present government, said General Disbrowe do give forthwith warrant to the keeper of the prison at the Castle in Exeter to permit said Petitioners to be at liberty during said three months to the intent they may in that time fit themselves for the said voyage.[23]

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21. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33, 17.

22. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 135, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, CIV, 238.

23. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 158-9, quoting Colonial Entry Book, XII, 61, and Interregnum Entry Book, CIV, 481. It is of interest to note that the Royalist prisoner, Penruddocke, whose family were in Wiltshire, possessed an unmistakably Celtic name; his ancestors were Celts from Arcleby in Cumberland, in the old Kingdom of Strath Clyde. Disbrowe (properly spelled Desborough or Desburgh), on the other hand, the Puritan General, sprang from the Northamptonshire gentry in the region of the old Danelaw. For Edward Penruddock's kinsman, Col. Penruddock, who was executed at Exeter in 1655 (May 16), see "The Royal Martyrs," supra, page 54.

The story behind the last entry is of interest. Col. John Penruddocke, kinsman of Edward, led a rising in March, 1655, of the Royalists of Wiltshire; he was defeated at South Moulton in Devon, captured with fifty or sixty others, imprisoned in Exeter Castle, and beheaded with a few others. According to Gardiner, Major Thomas Hunt, one of the number, escaped the day before his scheduled execution through the daring of his sisters and was never more heard of in England. The Major may have been the Thomas Hunt of Accomac County, Virginia, in 1657, or he may have been another of the name who came to Virginia in 1663.

On August 14, 1656, following the Frees motion and the appointment of the commission, the Protector and Council issued an order in regard to engaging merchants to transport rogues, vagrants, and the like to North American plantations.[24] In the same month a number of persons, some "willingly," others "unwillingly," were enticed to Virginia on board the ship "Conquer."[25] The list of Whitehall prisoners shipped to Virginia in 1662 has been lost.[26] Apparently in 1664 the practice of spiriting had come to the attention of the Lord Mayor of London, as in July (?) of that year he petitioned the King with regard to the evil practice of kidnapping persons to the

24. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 165, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, CV, 329-331.
25. Fifteen went willing and eager; twelve were enticed. Robert Person, aged 30, was enticed by spirits (not known) who got him to go to drink at Smithfield and so brought him on board of the "Conquer" at 12 of the clock at night pretending to have been at his own lodgings. He came out of Yorkshire from a place called Holden to help a drover, never having been at London before. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 170-171.
26. Sainsbury Abstracts, XV, 36.

colonies.[27] On August 24, 1664, the Inner Court of Wards recorded the Minutes of the Council for Plantations relating to the carrying of servants to Virginia and the proposed registry of them. We find in that year that white servants were transported at £6 per head along with the following categories:

> Felons condemned to death
> Sturdy beggars
> Gipsies
> Incorrigible rogues
> Poor and idle debauched persons[28]

In 1665 we find twenty-four convict felons were to be shipped to Virginia or Barbadoes.[29] About the same year convicts were sold in Virginia from New York; they were felons only in the eye of martial law. Many of the Dutch colonists captured by the English invaders of Long Island at New Amstel on the South River were sold as "slaves" in Virginia.[30] Quakers who could not pay the enormous fines ordained by the Boston General Court were to be sold in Barbadoes, Virginia, or any of the English plantations.

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27. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 187, quoting Domestic Correspondence of Charles II, CDVIII, 117.
28. Ibid., XV, 57, quoting Colonial Papers, XIV, 59.
29. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33, 17.
30. James D. Butler, loc.cit., 15.

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The statute cited by Whitmore as the first to use the word "transport" has already been referred to [31] and it has been termed a "dead letter." This is not strictly accurate, as on March 28, 1667, convicts were sent from Newgate to Virginia as follows:

William Payne
Edward Evans
John Ward
Thomas Harwood
Robert Allen
William Allen
Jonas Sonier
Dorothy Bywater
Nicholas Danse
John English
George Windrewe
William Alexander
Matthew Cotter
William Kellam
Isaac Oliver
John Coughtland
John Smith
Mathew Jones [32]

The situation in regard to kidnapping to the colonies became so serious that Parliament gave its attention to the matter of spiriting. We find:

> 1670, March 18. An Act to Prevent the Stealing and Transporting of Children and Other Persons. Any person spiriting away by fraud or enticement with the design to sell, carry away, or transport beyond the sea shall suffer death as a felon without clergy. [33]

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31. Supra, page 99.
32. Edward Neill, Virginia Carolorum (New York, 1886), 329.
33. Sainsbury Abstracts, Virginia State Library, XV, 60.

In the Winder Papers is the record of Thomas Ludwell's objection to the importation of rogues and ill people into Virginia:

> My Lord, we have this Court received the complaints of divers Gentlemen inhabiting the Counties of Yorke, Glocester, and Middlesex against the great numbers of fellons banished hither from England with theire apprehensions of the danger which arise from the attempts of such dangerous villanes for prevention whereof there is an order passed prohibiting the importation of any more such people after 20 January next. October 21, 1670.
> Signed Tho. Ludwell [34]

Ludwell's use of the expression "great numbers" may convey to the reader the impression that there were actually numerous convicts in Virginia. It is suggested that Ludwell refers to the prevailingly disreputable character of the migrants of the few years immediately preceding his objection, specifically, since the action of the Council for Plantations in 1664. The enormous Royalist migration in the previous decade had wafted to Virginia the "Gentlemen" of "Yorke, Glocester, and Middlesex" who had had time to attain public office and were in a position to take strong measures against the attempts of Britain to pawn off derelicts on the colony. In April, 1670, the General Court of Virginia had ordered "that it shall not be permitted to any person trading

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34. Winder Papers, Virginia State Library, I, 257-260, quoting Colonial Papers, XXV.

hither to bring in and land any jail birds or such others who, for notorious offences, have deserved to dye in England." [35]

The order of the General Court is set forth in Hening, II, 509, and it stood by reason of confirmation by the Privy Council, for which action Virginia sent Lord Arlington to thank it. In spite of this action of the General Court in 1670 it would appear that some Newgate birds [36] and Scottish convicts did come to Virginia:

> 1678, December 17. Whitehall. The King to Lord Culpeper. Scottish convicts to be sent to Virginia. Ralph Williamson to land and dispose of fifty-two convicted persons of Scotland sentenced to be banished and transported to the English colonies. [37]

In 1682 we find that:

> No person who shall receive his Majesty's pardon upon condition of transportation shall be sent to the plantations unless security of £100 sterling be first given that such person shall remain there for the space of four years at least. [38]

In 1685 arose the matter of transporting the 841 Monmouth rebels, who, as has already been pointed out, were political prisoners. Some of these found their way to Virginia, among them John Edwards and Edward Lloyd, previously referred to. [39]

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35. Fairfax Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William (2 vols., Richmond, 1924), II, 159 ("When the Convicts Came").
36. Supra, page 99.
37. Sainsbury Abstracts, XVII, 193, quoting Colonial Entry Book, XCV, 166.
38. Sainsbury Abstracts, XVIII, 204, quoting Colonial Entry Book, XCVII, 83.
39. Supra, page 58.

Neither Hotten nor Butler gives indication of sentences or shipments to Virginia, but many of the rebels went to Barbadoes:

100 prisoners from Taunton to Barbadoes and elsewhere
68 men servants sold for 10 years on the "Jamaica Merchant"
100 prisoners to Barbadoes
prisoners in Exeter gaol
prisoners at Wells
convicted rebels on the "Betty" of London from Weymouth
72 prisoners to Barbadoes
100 prisoners in Dorchester Gaol
90 rebels in the "Happy Return"
prisoners from towns in Somerset and Devon to Barbadoes
77 convicted rebels from Bristol in the frigate "John"
100 prisoners: 56 from Taunton, 33 from Bridgewater, 11 from Exeter
67 rebels sold to Gardner of the "Jamaica Merchant".[40]

From the rather brisk marine intercourse between Virginia and Barbadoes in the latter part of the seventeenth century it would seem likely that a not inconsiderable number of the rebels eventually secured transshipment to Virginia.

Narcissus Luttrell's diary of 1692 shows that a ship lay in Leith going to Virginia in that year, on board which the magistrates of Scotland had ordered fifty lewd women out of the house of correction and thirty others who walked the streets after ten at night.[41]

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40. John Camden Hotten, The Original Lists of Persons of Quality (New York, 1931).
41. Edward Neill, Virginia Carolorum (New York, 1886), 329. Also James D. Butler, "American Convicts," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33, 18.

By 1697 there seems no doubt that Virginia was receiving no convicts, as in that year Micajah Perry, the Virginia agent for registering servants, refused to take convict women:

> 1697, July 21. Convicts for colonies and Perry's refusal to take them. Convict women to Leeward Islands. Minutes of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. In reference to an application of the Commissioners for transportation about the fifty convict women now in Newgate - Answers read from the Agents or merchants of Barbadoes, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Virginia, and Maryland, New England and Carolina, & the Agents of New York having verbally declared their opinion that it would not be fit to send them to that province - Ordered that a representation be laid before the Lords Justices that these Convicts be sent to the Leeward Islands according to the letter of the agents of those Islands. [42]

Probably the 1670 order of the Virginia General Court was in the mind of Beverley when he wrote in 1705:

> As for Malefactors condemn'd to Transportation, they [the Virginians] have always receiv'd very few and for many years last past their laws have been severe against them. [43]

We have every reason to believe Beverley's truthfulness, inasmuch as he changes his note after action by Parliament in 1718. Dr. James D. Butler tells us [44] that 135 Jacobites involved with Mar and Derwentwater in 1716 were sold in Maryland

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42. Sainsbury Abstracts, V, 322, quoting Trade Papers, IV, 166-167.
43. Fairfax Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William (2 vols., Richmond, 1924), I, 159.
44. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to the American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (October, 1896), 32-33, referring to Scharf, I, 371.

and that in pursuance of an act of Parliament of 1718, 2138 persons convicted were transported, the majority of whom were sold in Maryland (as noted by the Maryland historian, Scharf) and in Virginia. Beverley, in the 1722 revision of his history, after the Act of Parliament of 1718, changed his statement in regard to convicts in Virginia to read as follows:

> As for Malefactors condemned to transportation, tho' the greedy planters will always buy them, yet it is to be feared they will be very injurious to the Country which has already suffered many murders and robberies, the effect of that new law in England. [45]

Nor was Beverley in error, as in 1729 transported felons burned the house of Mr. Thomas Lee, report of which to the Lords of Trade was made by Governor Gooch. Fairfax Harrison, in commenting upon the immigration of convicts into Virginia, has said that Virginia had in 1718 enjoyed a half century of freedom from such importations. [46] However, about the time that England ceased to afflict the colony with her undesirable elements, maritime malefactors commenced to plague Virginia and even to settle there. The rise of piracy in the latter half of the seventeenth century had its effect upon Virginia, as upon England's other colonies.

In 1682 Virginia was invaded by a pirate ship which

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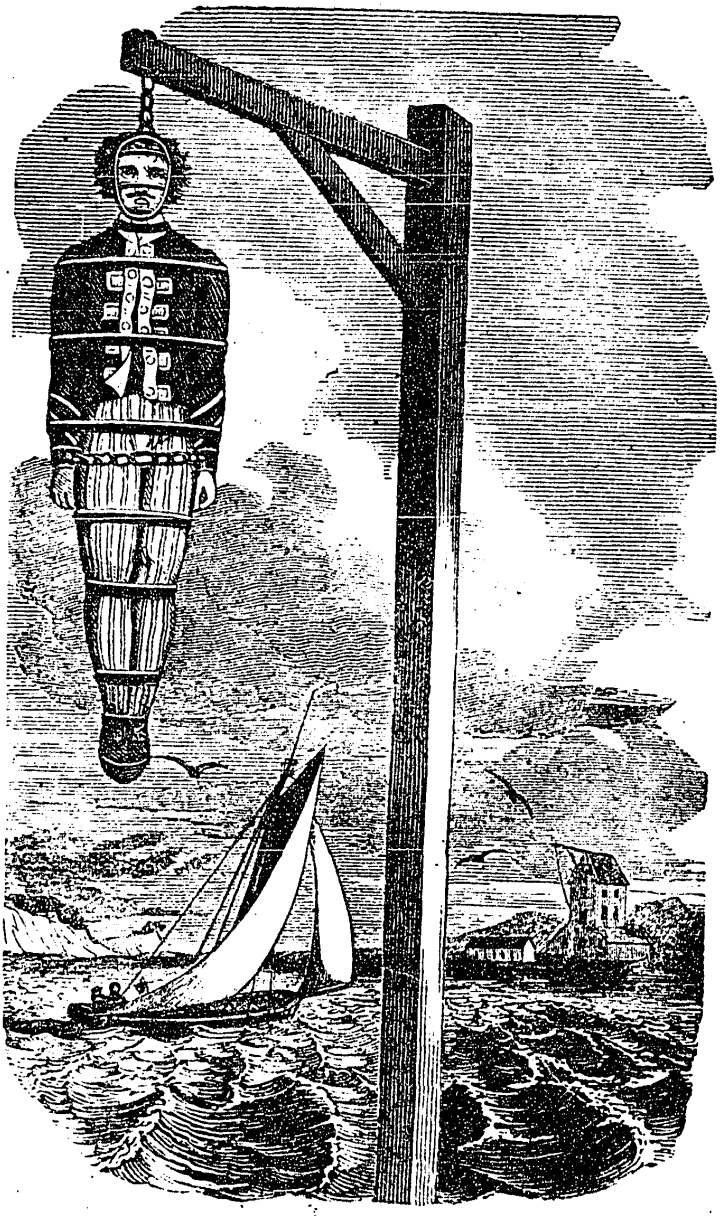
45. Fairfax Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William (2 vols., Richmond, 1924), I, 159.
46. Ibid., I, 158.

came to the mouth of the York River, landed a party from a boat, and sacked two plantation houses. In Rhode Island five of the pirates were captured and the stolen gold was returned to Virginia. Harrison, Manly, and three other pirates appear to have become settlers in Virginia. In April, 1683, Cook and his pirate crew arrived in Accomac with two prizes and remained there until the following August. In 1685 pirates robbed in the Isle of Wight, and in 1688 Lionel Delawafer, the notorious pirate, with Edward Davis, John Hinson, and Peter Cleiss, a negro servant to Davis, were captured in the James River with a quantity of plate money. They gave £300 to the College of William and Mary for their freedom, and after three years in Virginia Delawafer left for England.

In 1699 Virginia was honored by a visit from Captain Kidd, next to Blackbeard probably the most famous of all the pirates. His ship of 42 guns and an attending sloop of 18 guns lay off the coast of Accomac laden with thirty tons of gold. Stretcher and Lewes, two Eastern Shoremen, went aboard and received some of the booty. In 1699 and 1700 Lynnhaven Bay was entered by the Frenchman, Captain Louis Guittar in his pirate ship the "La Paix" and by the Welsh pirate from Glamorganshire, Captain John James of the "Alexander." In the earlier year pirates, apparently other than Kidd's men, were reported by Col. John Custis



CAPTAIN KIDD HANGING IN CHAINS

From Philip Gosse, The History of Piracy (New York, 1934).

to have landed on Smith's Island, a convenient place to revictual, and killed beeves. Numerous vessels were taken by James and Guittar and the "Maryland Merchant" was converted into a pirate ship. In 1700 the pirates of the "La Paix" to the number of 100 were taken prisoner to Elizabeth City by Captain William Passenger of the guardship "Shoreham".[47]

The foregoing examination of malefactors and pirates in colonial Virginia does not profess to be exhaustive, but it should show that a great many more malefactors indeed will have to be unearthed before criminals can be positively asserted to have constituted more than a very small fraction of Virginia's population down to 1700. William Stith, President of William and Mary College, who wrote in 1753, would seem to have been responsible for much of the mistaken impression of numbers of convicts in seventeenth century Virginia. Magnifying out of all proportion the transportation of the fifty "dissolute persons" in 1619/20, Stith made the following statement:

> Those who are acquainted with History, and know with how high and magisterial a Hand, this King sometimes carried it, even with his Parliaments, will not be surprised, to find him thus unmerciful insult a private company, and load them, against all Law, with the Maintenance

47. The discussion of pirates in colonial Virginia is based primarily on Marion L. Starkey, The First Plantation; a History of Hampton and Elizabeth City, Virginia, 1607-1887 (Hampton, 1936); Lloyd Haynes Williams, Pirates of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1937); and Jennings C. Wise, Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (Richmond, 1911).

> and extraordinary Expence of transporting such Persons, as he thought proper to banish; and that perhaps, without any colourable Pretext, or sufficient Warrant of Law at that time. And I cannot but remark, how early that custom arose, of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia, as a Place of Punishment and Disgrace; which altho' originally design'd for the Advancement and Increase of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great Prejudice and Hinderance to it's Growth. For it hath laid one of the finest Countries in British America, under the unjust Scandal of being a mere Hell upon Earth, another Siberia, and only fit for the Reception of Malefactors and the vilest of the People. So that few People, at least few large Bodies of People, [48] have been induced, willingly to transport themselves to such a Place; and our younger Sisters, the Northern Colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one Cause, that they have outstripped us so much, in the Number of their Inhabitants, and in the Goodness and Frequency of their Cities and Towns. [49]

Stith calls the scandal "unjust," but he accords to Virginia a baneful reputation as a gaol for malefactors which would appear unwarranted in view of the fact that the indices of the four volumes of the Records of the Virginia Company of London by Kingsbury fail to reveal convicts or felons sent to Virginia during the Company period. The Bridewell vagabonds did come in the Company period, but there were not so many of them; it is not even certain that King James sent the suspected deer-stealer he desired to transport to Virginia.

Although Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard has the traditional aristocratic approach to Virginia history, and her statement

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48. But see page 109, supra, for Bermudians desiring to remove to Virginia.

49. William Stith, The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (London, 1753), 168.

as to genealogists is liable to the same criticism as that raised against the English heralds under the Tudors (that they endeavored to "florify" the pedigrees of gentry in the visitations), nevertheless, her words are significant:

> Not a single instance of a Virginia family descended from a convict has ever been found by any genealogist, though a very few families that later became prominent - four in all - harked back to the servant class. [50]

It is inconceivable to the present writer that the convicts and pirates in Virginia were "like the leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown." They must have left descendants in some numbers, but in the opinion of Fairfax Harrison, the later convicts (after 1717) found in Virginia but cold hospitality and consequently emigrated to the West. The plain facts are that from the beginning of the colony the "cards were stacked" against convicts and felons. The union of Church and State and the requirement of conformity gave a homogeneous character to a population that resented intruders. Ludwell in 1670 voiced the Virginia view of the convict, and Beverley, when he wrote in 1705, said the final word on the numbers of malefactors who came to the Old Dominion. As to their character, Benjamin Franklin retorted aptly to the

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50. Mary Newton Stanard, Colonial Virginia (Philadelphia, 1917), 53.

English argument that the convicts would change their natures with a change of climate by proposing that the colonies should export rattlesnakes to England in the same expectation. The political prisoners who came to Virginia cannot fairly be said to have possessed a defect that ran with their blood; of depraved criminals who may have possessed such defect, the colony received precious few, though she must have received her share of the 10,000 convicts allotted by Butler to all the American plantations from 1717 to 1775. In 1767 the good ship "Jenny" brought Virginia her "four-star" convict, one who "has enlisted into forty-six regiments, been whipped out of nineteen, sentenced to be shot six times, been confined in seventy-three jails, appeared under the character of a quack doctor in seven kingdoms, and now is only in the thirty-second year of his age." [51] But the colony saw none such in the seventeenth century.

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51. James D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," American Historical Review, II (1896), 12-33, 28, relying upon Gentleman's Magazine (February 10, 1767), 92.

CHAPTER SEVEN - PURITANS IN THE COLONY

In considering the great Puritan migration, Prof. Charles M. Andrews has said:

> One group of these men formed a veritable clan, knit by ties of blood, marriage, propinquity, and personal friendship and by a common loyalty to religious ideals. They lived in East Anglia and its neighborhood - in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and South Lincolnshire - a region extending from the Thames to the Wash and including the districts of Kesteven and Holland, where lies the municipal borough of Boston. Within this region, for reasons not readily understood, Puritan sympathies found expression more strongly than anywhere else, a fact which has given to these counties the name of the Cradle of Puritanism.[1]

E.G. Swem's Virginia Historical Index shows that approximately 429 families emigrated to Virginia from this region, though not all of them came in the seventeenth century. The accuracy of Swem's figures is diminished by the extent to which East Anglian families in the ancestry of Virginia immigrants dealt with in the periodicals keyed by Swem tend to pad the list. However, even when the families in East Anglia which blended to produce such Virginia immigrants as a Bacon or a Calthorpe are subtracted from the total, enough names are left to indicate a rather substantial number of emigrants to Virginia from the Cradle of Puritanism. However, the higher numbers given

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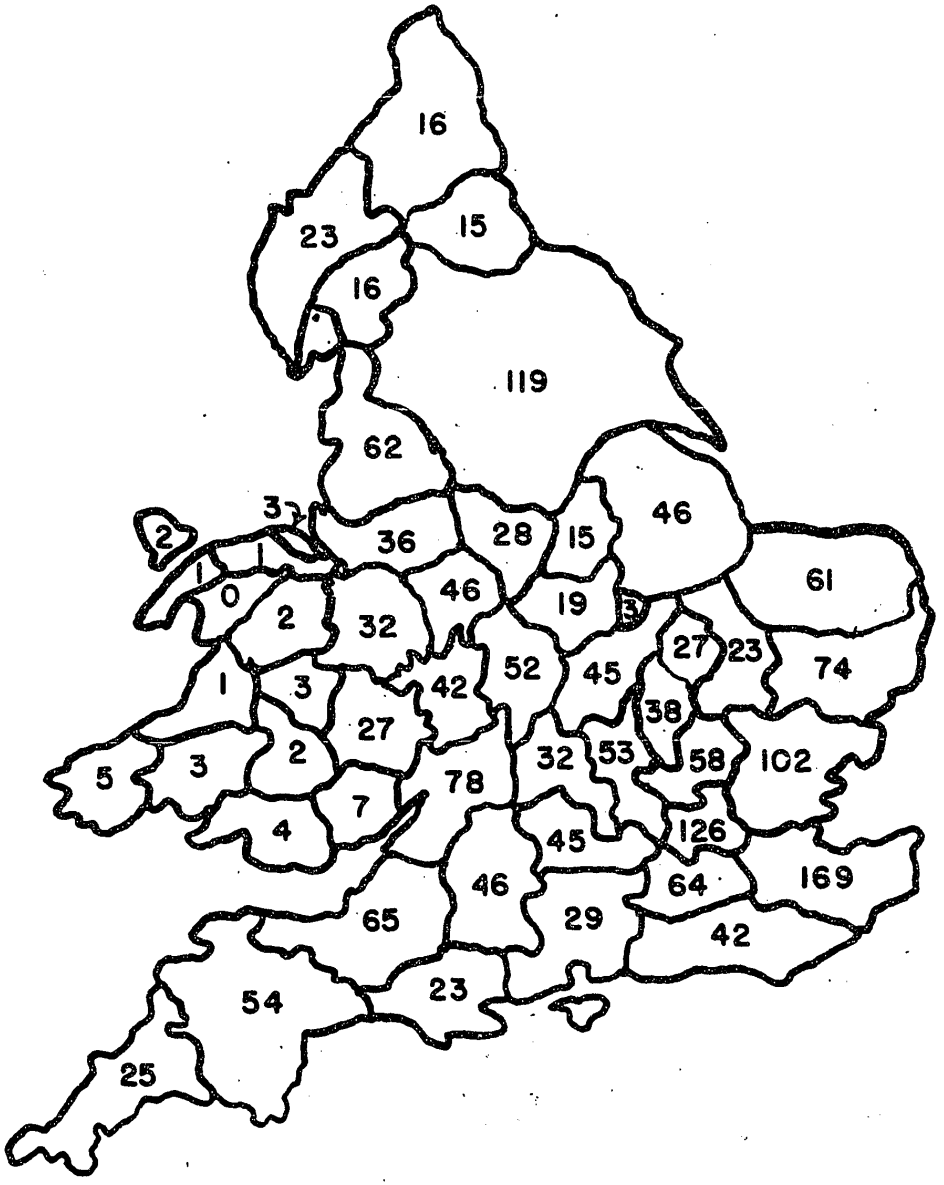
1. Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (4 vols., New Haven, 1937), I, 383-4.

NUMBER OF SURNAMES OF FAMILIES EMIGRATING
TO VIRGINIA FROM ENGLISH & WELSH
SHIRES
BASED ON
E. G. SWEM'S "VIRGINIA HISTORICAL INDEX"



by Swem for the eastern counties are no sure indication that more individual persons came from East England than from West England to Virginia; families were larger in the West, if the visitations are any indication. Not only that, but the total number of surnames borne by the entire population of almost any Western shire in the seventeenth century would be found to be smaller than the number of surnames of an equal number picked at random from any Eastern shire, in the opinion of the present author. This was because such names in the West as Williams, Richards, Jones, Davis, Harris, Young, Roberts, Jenkins, and Hughes, to name only a few, boasted more representatives than any individual families to be found in the East.

Such Puritans as came to Virginia appear to have come either singly, from time to time, under the Company; in groups around 1634-1636; or in groups around 1660-1665. Those who came in the middle period, inasmuch as they took the oath of conformity at Gravesend before an Anglican minister, must have made some compromise with their consciences upon departure.

Neill says that when the "William and Thomas" arrived at Jamestown in March, 1619, it probably had on board Blackwell and other Puritans. [2] However, no record of any ship of Puritans bound for Virginia has been unearthed. In the

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2. Edward D. Neill, "Notes on American History; xii. Ships Arriving at Jamestown from the Settlement of Virginia until the Revocation of the Charter of the London Company," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register (1876) XXX, 416.

temperate zone Puritans sought New England; in the tropical zone they sought the islands of Providence and Henrietta off the coast of Honduras, colonization of which was unsuccessful. The ships of extreme Puritans which slipped out of East Anglia without their passengers' having taken the oath were bound for New England. Of the ships which departed from Weymouth in Dorset and Yarmouth in Norfolk and from Ipswich in Suffolk in the years from 1634 to 1637, apparently none were bound for Virginia. The "Francis" and the "John & Dorothy" from Ipswich, the "Elizabeth" from Weymouth, and the "Rose" from Yarmouth were all bound for New England. The more extreme East Anglian Puritans would appear to have avoided the colony of Virginia in 1634 - 1637. [3]

If Puritan influence was inconsiderable in Virginia, the most obvious explanation for this would be that the Anglicans dominated the scene. An attempt has been made to assemble something approaching a complete roster of those that might be termed Puritans in Virginia, from mild Anglican reformers to fanatical Calvinists. Excluding Sir Edwin Sandys, who never came to Virginia, the list includes the following persons:

Bennett, Rev. Philip
Bennett, Capt. (later Governor) Richard

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3. See John Camden Hotten, Original Lists of Persons of Quality (New York, 1931).

Blackwell, Samuel
Bushrod, Thomas
Catlin, Mr. Henry
Claiborne, William (Capt. and Col.)
Curtis, Capt. Edmund
Dale, Deputy Governor Sir Thomas
Dennis, Robert
Digges, Governor Edward
Durand, William
Galear, John
Cookin, Daniel
Coulding, Rev.
Harrison, Mr.
Hill, John
Julian, William
Knowles, Rev.
Lambeth, Ens. Thomas
Lloyd, Mr. Cornelius
Martiau, Col. Nicholas
Martin, Edward
Mason, Lieut. Francis
Matthews, Governor Samuel (Mathews)
Meare, Thomas
Sawyer, Thomas
Scarburgh's son, Edmund (Edmund III?)
Sewell, Mr. Henry
Sibrey, Capt. John
Stegg, Thomas
Thompson, Rev.
Watkins, John
Weston, T.
Whitaker, Rev. William

Some of the above were merely low-churchmen who accepted Anglicanism. According to Matthew Page Andrews, no one of the three interregnum governors, Bennett, Digges, or Mathews, all elected by the Burgesses, was radical either in politics or religion. Bennett, Dennis, Stegg, and Claiborne were appointed by Cromwell to "reduce" Virginia in collaboration with Curtis. Dennis and Stegg were lost at sea, and Claiborne and Bennett remained to negotiate the agreement of 1652 in which Sir William Berkeley was swamped by the

leaders who "were pleased to avoid a fratricidal conflict." It is unlikely that any son of Col. Edmund Scarburgh, Surveyor-General and kinsman of Sir Charles Scarburgh, personal physician to Charles II, could have been a Puritan. Young Scarburgh married Bennett's daughter, but the family remained in the favor of the Stuarts, as evidenced by the King's Warrant of 20 January 1666/7, dated at Oxford, whereby Edmund Scarborough was granted the place of Surveyor-General of Virginia. [4] The Scarburgh-Bennett marriage served, no doubt, to allay friction between the Eastern Shore and the government at Jamestown.

Col. Nicholas Martiau, Washington's earliest American ancestor, to whom a tablet was unveiled (through the efforts of Dr. John Baer Stoudt of Allentown, Pennsylvania) by the Huguenot Society of America in 1931 at Yorktown, was originally a French Huguenot whose Calvinism, no doubt, recommended him to English Puritans; he played a prominent part in the ouster of Governor Harvey, but the Martiau-Reade connection appears to have figured not at all among Puritan annals in Virginia.

Edward Martin is listed among the Puritans because he objected to the production of the first theatrical performance in English North America of which we have any record - Ye Bare and Ye Cubb, enacted on the Eastern Shore in 1665.

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4. Sainsbury Abstracts, Virginia State Library, IV, 188, quoting Privy Seals 19, Charles II, No. 366. Of course, even had the Scarburghs been Puritans, they might have been the objects of Charles II's favor, as Roundheads benefited largely by the royal bounty after the Restoration.

Bennett, Knowles, Thompson, Harrison, Durand, Coulding, Sibrey, Mason, Sewell, Julian, Culear, Lambeth, Sawyer, Meare, Watkins, Lloyd, Catlin, and Hill were associated with the group of Puritans in Nansemond, who in 1642 applied to Boston for Puritan ministers, as noted by Winthrop in his History of New England. Knowles, Thompson, and James, three New England ministers, came to Virginia and openly defied its laws from January 1, 1643, to April 15, 1644. The act they violated was that of 1642/3 permitting only Anglican ministers to reside and preach in the colony. Mr. Harrison had only seventy-four Puritan followers in Nansemond in 1647 and, including the "propounded," only one hundred eighteen in 1648, though he asserted that there were one thousand Puritan sympathizers in Virginia. As this broad claim would have included only about one-fifteenth of the population of Virginia at the time, the numerical weakness of Puritans in the colony becomes apparent. Harrison remained in Boston long enough in 1648 to marry Dorothy, daughter of Samuel Symonds and cousin of Winthrop. His checkered career saw him go to London, to Dublin, back to London, and back to Dublin, where he died. Wearied by the intolerance of Governor Berkeley, the Nansemond Puritans withdrew to Maryland in 1649 (the year of Lord Baltimore's famous Toleration Act), at a time when feelings ran high over the decapitated royal head. Andrews indicates that

hundreds left the colony.[5] However, the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography states that

> It seems that when the Royalist party returned to power in Virginia after the days of the Provisional Government, a large number of Puritans still continued to live in Nansemond County and the vicinity.[6]

That it was a focus of dissenters is borne out by the fact that the Quakers later migrated to the same section. According to the William & Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine:

> The region of Virginia south of the James River is called the "south-side." It was settled largely by families from Bristol, England, and was strongly Puritanic during the turmoil in England between Roundhead and Cavalier. This Puritanic tendency is shown in the records by the remarkable prevalence of Biblical names.[7]

T. Weston, who patented land in York County, where there were some Puritans, left his land to his daughter Elizabeth Conant and died in Bristol, England, in 1647.

Thomas Bushrod, a substantial citizen and Burgess for York County from 1658 to 1660, is known to have been a Puritan. Any attempt to generalize about the time of immigration of these Puritans is doomed to failure. William Durand was transported by Richard Bennett in 1637; he was, no doubt,

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5. Matthew Page Andrews, Virginia - the Old Dominion (New York, 1937), 131.
6. Philip A. Bruce, "Book Review - Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-5), 109.
7. Lyon G. Tyler, "Southside Families," William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, XX (January, 1912), 187-191, 187. See supra, page 16.

WILLIAM CLAIBORNE, PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONER

FOR VIRGINIA

From J. H. Claiborne, William Claiborne of Virginia (New York, 1917).

a moderate Puritan who did not care for New England climate or politics; Thomas Sawyer was in "Warwick Squeake" in 1623; William Julian was likewise in Virginia in the same year. In 1623 came Thomas Sibery. Francis Mason was the Virginia-born son of Francis Mason, who came in the "John & Francis" in 1613. Claiborne was in Virginia in 1624 and Martin, the frowner upon the stage, may have been the Edward Martin who came to Northampton County in the period of Cavalier exile, as late as 1650.

The Civil War brought about at least one set of distinguished exchanges between Massachusetts and Virginia. Daniel Gookin, Jr., nephew of Sir Vincent Gookin of an old Kentish family, left Kecoughtan in Virginia when he became a convert to Puritanism and moved to Massachusetts, where he died a major-general in 1686-7. Isaac Allerton II, son of the Mayflower Pilgrim, was "converted" from Puritanism to Anglicanism and removed from Massachusetts to Virginia, where he settled in the Northern Neck and his family became allied with the Lees and Corbins.

Beverley, the Virginia historian, declares that the Virginians passed severe laws against the Puritans at a time when there were as yet none among them. This must mean that in 1642-43 there were no Puritans in Virginia, which would appear to be not strictly accurate. When Knowles and his associates left Virginia for Maryland the community was divided into adherents of Charles the First and Parliament,

the former called Bristolers and the latter Londoners. The Dutch captain, David De Vries, tells us that in 1644 feeling in Virginia ran so high against the Parliament that two London ships were forced to make the return trip with no tobacco, as the irate Virginians would not permit them to come to land. It would be hard to find a more telling argument for the Cavalier thesis than one provided by a neutral eyewitness![8]

The paucity of information relating to Puritans in the colony combined with the known fact that many of them emigrated, leads us to the conclusion that Puritanism was never a force wielding great influence in the Virginia colony. This may be true because the Anglicans monopolized high office and suppressed Puritan "propaganda", or simply because the rank and file of the inhabitants loved their King, either because of hereditary loyalty or out of gratefulness for his benevolence to the colony. Probably both are true, for there never were many individuals of Puritan persuasion in Virginia in the seventeenth century.[9]

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8. See page 165 , infra.

9. However, see Appendix X for 734 colonists who may have been Puritans.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CAVALIERS IN THE COLONY AND THEIR ROLE IN TRANSPORTING IMMIGRANTS

If the English Puritans were united by close ties of blood and kinship, hardly less so were the Cavaliers of the West. Bennett Wood Green and Dr. Vaughan have pointed out the vast interlocking network of related families of the gentry which held the West of England for the King. Something of the importance of this for Virginia historians can be seen from the fact that the Ludwells were from Somerset, the Randolphs from Warwick, the Tylers from Shropshire, the Fowkes from Stafford, the Dandridges from Worcester, the Carys from Gloucester, the Cockes from Devon, the Lees from Shropshire, the Tripletts from Devon, the Coles from Cornwall, the Berkeleys from Gloucester, the Taliaferros from Cornwall, the Cabells from Somerset, the Tabbs from Devon, the Chamberlaynes from Somerset, the Pinkards from Somerset, the Hunts from Wilts, the Priests from Somerset, the Brents from Somerset, the Tuckers from Devon by way of Kent, and the Floods from Wales by way of Shropshire and Kent. The Fowkes and Masons were twice related, and as Westerners in England it is not surprising that they threw in their lot with the Stuarts. It is not certain where the Carters came from in England, but if the grumbling of Col. John Carter in 1659 upon the accession of Richard Cromwell is any indication, the Carters were from the West of England. It is not beyond

the realm of possibility that Robert "King" Carter who gained such celebrity in Virginia in the eighteenth century was of the same stock which produced Carter, "King of Prussia", who gained such notoriety as a smuggler in Cornwall, England!

What of the supposed "Cavaliers" in Virginia? Were they numerous or readily identifiable among the colonists?

As early as 1644 the New Englanders cast aspersions upon the following Virginians, all Anglicans, presumably:

Bennett, William
Bolton, Francis
Bucke, Richard
Burgrave (Bargrave?), Thomas
Glover
Hopkins
Hunt, Robert
Keith, George
Leake, William
Macock, William
Mease, William
Paulet, Robert
Paxton, Anthony
Pemberton
Poole
Pooley, Greville
Sandys, David
Staples, Robert
Stockton, Jonas
Thorpe, George
Whitaker, Alexander
White, Thomas
Wickam, William
Wyatt, Hawte [1]

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1. Philip A. Bruce, "Book Review - Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-5), 109.

All of these persons, doubtless, may with safety be numbered among those Virginians who stood by the King and his Governor while England was in turmoil.

Sir William Berkeley, arch-Cavalier that he was, has furnished us with the following illuminating passage:

> An other great imputation lyes on the Countrey, that none but those of the meanest quality and corruptest lives go thither, this to our Maligners wee would easily grant, if they would consent to the omen of it; for was not Rome thus began and composed? and the greatest honour that was given to Romulus and his Citty was this, that his Severity and discipline in his time, formidable to their Neighbours, and his posterity masters of the world. But this is not all truth for Men of as good families as any Subjects in England have resided there, as the Percys, the Barkleys, the Wests, the Gages, the Throgmortons, Wyatts, Degges, Chickleys, Moldsworths, Morrisons, Kemps, and hundred others, which I forbear to name, lest I should misherald them in the Catologue. [2]

The use by this author of the passage from Berkeley may give rise to the objection that the author is straying from his rigid political criterion of "Cavaliers" when he seeks to make Berkeley's men "of good families" King's men. Such a metamorphosis is entirely valid, when one reflects upon the fact that Berkeley was so wholly devoted to the cause of the King that it is highly unlikely that he would have thought of the King's foes in any other light than as upstarts, both socially and politically.

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2. Sir William Berkeley, "A Discourse and Veiw of Virginia," Egerton Manuscripts, Library of Congress, folio 354, 359. This was written bout 1661, and was reprinted under the title A Discourse and View of Virginia (Norwalk, 1914).

An analysis of the dates of emigration, or rather of immigration into Virginia, of the persons who bore the surnames listed by Berkeley above discloses the significant fact that they fall, for the most part, in the years of Cavalier exile, 1649-1659, as shown by the following table separating immigrants before and after the execution of Charles I: [3]

Percy:	1635	1657, 1657
Barkley:	1639, 1648	1650
West:	1635, 1636, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1642, 1642	1649, 1649, 1649, 1649, 1649, 1650, 1650, 1650, 1650, 1650, 1652, 1652, 1652, 1652, 1652, 1652, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1656, 1656, 1656, 1656.
Gage:	1638, 1638	1652, 1654
Thrickmorton:	1645	
Wyatt:	1639, 1642, 1643	1653, 1654, 1655
Digg(s):	1645	1650, 1650
Chicheley:		1649
Molesworth:		After 1648
Morrison:	1648, 1648, 1648	1650, 1651, 1652
Kemp:	1635, 1637, 1638, 1642	1649, 1652, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1653, 1653

3. This table is based on the immigrants listed in George Cabell Greer, Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666 (Richmond, 1912).

Each date listed in the above table represents one immigrant bearing the given surname listed in Greer. Of the 74 persons listed above, 48 arrived in the years of Cavalier exile. Four additional arrived in 1648. This would mean that out of 74 tentative "Cavaliers", 52 arrived in Virginia after it was apparent that the King's cause was hopeless. Such an overwhelming majority of Cavaliers falling within the Interregnum period would make it seem reasonable to regard the decade 1650-1660 as witnessing wholesale emigrations to Virginia of defeated followers of the King. [4]

Among the known undoubted Cavaliers in Virginia listed by the William & Mary Quarterly Magazine, by Dr. Wertenbaker, and by Mary Newton Stanard are the following:

> Bishop, Mr. Henry, "Who formerly served the King in those unhappy wars in England."
>
> Bridger, Col. Joseph (1628-1686), whose tomb in Isle of Wight states that he received a special summons to wait upon the King.
>
> Brodnax, Major John, who came to York County about 1650 and by his will of 1657/8 left to his daughter Elizabeth, "my Eare ring with a Dyamant in itt."
>
> Chicheley, Governor Sir Henry, brother of Sir Thomas Chicheley, his Majesty's trusted adherent; he feasted and caroused with other cavalry officers at Capt. Ralph Wormeley's on the York River in 1649. He was the son of Sir Henry Chicheley of Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, and served in the royal army in the Civil War. From "State

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4. Supra, page 88.

Trials" we learn that while at Gravesend about to sail he was arrested for complicity in a royalist plot headed by Sir _____ by reason of his being found "casually in the same inn." He was released and came to Virginia in 1649.

Culpeper, Alexander, whose father lost "all his estate, life, and liberty for the King." Since Agincourt in 1415 the Culpepers had fought by the side of their monarchs, and the various branches of the family, Bedgebury, Wigsell, Wakehurst, and Aylesford, undid themselves through loyalty to Charles.

Dunn, Nicholas, Chief Clerk of the Royal Kitchen, who arrived probably in 1650.

Fox, Major Richard, who arrived in 1649 and landed in a storm on the Eastern Shore, where he was made welcome at the nearest plantation, and after copious entertainment departed for Capt. Wormeley's on the York.

Hammond, Major-General Mainwaring, brother of Francis Hammond, who settled in New Kent; Major-General Hammond came in 1649, and was likewise entertained at Capt. Wormeley's.

Harrison, Dr. Jeremiah, who came to Westmoreland in 1654 and whose wife, Frances, was the daughter of Thomas Whitgreave of county Stafford, who saved the life of Charles II at Worcester.

Honeywood, Col. Sir Philip, who arrived in 1649 and feasted and caroused with other Cavalier officers at Capt. Ralph Wormeley's.

Jenings, Peter, who faithfully served King Charles I, probably as an officer in his army and in March, 1662, was made Attorney-General for the King. On September 16, 1670, he was made Attorney-General of Virginia and was a member of the Council. He married Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Lunsford, who married as her second husband Ralf (Rafe or Raphe) Wormeley, Esq.

Jones, Robert, a soldier against Parliament, who later joined Bacon's Rebellion; probably the Robert Jones who came to James City in 1653.

Langston, Anthony, an ensign in Prince Maurice's Regiment, who came to Virginia in 1648 and returned to England in 1662, where he killed a man in a brawl, but was pardoned, and became a captain in the Navy; in 1653 he received two grants of land for 1303 and 1000 acres of land in New Kent County, Virginia.

Lunsford, Sir Thomas, former Captain of London Tower, a colorful ruffian who feasted at Capt. Wormeley's in 1649 and in the following year brought over Lady Elizabeth, Mary, and William Lunsford, ancestor of numerous Virginians.

Molesworth, Col. Guy, who received twenty-five wounds battling for the King.

Moryson, Col. Francis, who in 1649 landed on Fenwick's Island on the Eastern Shore with Col. Henry Norwood and Maj. Richard Fox. He was the son of Sir Henry Moryson of the King's army.

Norwood, Col. Henry, Cavalier refugee of 1649, who landed in the storm on the Eastern Shore and was guided to Littleton's plantation by Jenkin Price, the Welsh trader, who under Norwood's subsequent treasurership of Virginia received moneys for "rescuing certain persons." Stephen Charlton would have had Norwood put on a "good farmer-like suit of his own"; Norwood departed from the Eastern Shore for Wormeley's on the York and became a Councilor. Norwood's account of his Voyage to Virginia in Peter Force's Historical Tracts is one of the most valuable sources of information on hardships of Cavaliers emigrating to Virginia at the ebb-tide of royal fortunes.

Plantagenet, Beauchamp, a fantastic traveller and writer who visited America in 1648 and was entertained by Capt. Matthews and Master Fauntleroy; his name must have been assumed.

Skipwith, Sir Grey, son of Sir Henry Skipwith, Bart., of Prestwould, Leicestershire, so created by James I; the Skipwith estate in Virginia was named for the old place in England. As far as blood went, this man belonged to the social cream of England; he descended from such proud families as the Willoughbys de Eresby, Constables, Fitzwilliams, Dymokes, Ludlows, Cromwells, and Marmions.

Stevens, Major Philip, of York County.

Washington, John, son of Rev. Lawrence Washington, a loyal minister.

Washington, Lawrence, brother of John.

Wilsford, Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Wilsford, who was hanged for participating in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676.

Wiat (Wyatt), Sir Dudley, who died at James City in 1650.

Woodward, John, son of Thomas Woodward, Assay Master of the Royal Mint; he "would not take an oath to the usurper, but went to Virginia," where he was dead in 1665.[5]

Any attempt to prove conclusively that the twenty-four Cavalier families of undoubted stamp listed above were of Celtic and not of Teutonic extraction would lead entirely too far afield for the present study. Let it suffice merely to point out that Lunsford, whose mother was a Fludd, was a Celt on the distaff side; probably Hammond, whose mother was a Devereux, was of the blood of the Mainwarings, an old Western family of Over Peover in Cheshire, who furnished prominent members to both sides in the English Civil War. For centuries they had married among marcher families, and there is bound to have been no small infusion of Celtic blood in the veins of the Mainwarings.

As to the question of Cavalier fecundity in Virginia, it

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5. Lyon G. Tyler, "The Cavalier Emigration," William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, VI (October, 1897) 89-90. Tyler's list includes all except the traveller, Plantagenet. It is of interest to note that the names of Jennings, Lunsford, Washington, Manwaring, and Wormeley appear among the "Cavalliers" and "Royal Martyrs" on pages 50 and 54, supra.

is probable that Bishop, Brodnax, Bridger, Culpeper, Dunn, Fox, Hammond, Harrison, Honeywood, Jones, Lunsford, Moryson, Skipwith, Washington, and Woodward left descendants. The Northumberland Lunsfords claim descent from Sir Thomas through his son William, who was supposedly identical with the person of the same name who settled in the Northern Neck and through his descendant, Moses Lunsford of Northumberland, was the ancestor of a host of Virginians. The Wormeleys, Lomaxes, and Hunters, including Thomas Lomax Hunter of King George County, author of the column entitled "The Cavalier" in the Richmond Times Dispatch, are descended from Sir Thomas Lunsford through his daughter, the widow Jennings. The Skipwiths, Washingtons, and Woodwards all boast numerous connections in the Old Dominion. Indeed, the political influence exerted by the descendants of undoubted Cavaliers in Virginia might be wholly credited with the popularity of the Cavalier "myth" were it not for the enormous numbers of Cavaliers of lesser note whose families added to the chorus of the little group of King's intimates and swelled royalist sentiment in the oldest colony.

Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library at Richmond shed light on further Cavalier immigration into Virginia. Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Henry Chicheley, and Captain John Ravencroft [6] all received passes to come to Virginia in form

6. Cf., "Ravenscroft", page 32, supra.

as follows:

> These are to will and require you to permit and suffer the bearer hereof ( ) to transport himself and necessaries to ( ) without any your lets or molestations, he carrying nothing with him prejudicial to the State. Of which you are not to fail and for which this shall be your Warrant, given at the Council of State at Whitehall this ( ) To all Customers, Comptrollers, and Searchers and all other Officers of the Ports and Customes. [7]

Sir Henry Chicheley, taking the engagement, was given permission to secure a pass to go to Virginia in 1650 and was released to go out of town on April 9 of that year, inasmuch as he gave security to do nothing prejudicial to the state and present government. At the same time two lesser Cavaliers, Thomas Cox and Robert Pigge, were also granted passes. On September 10, 1651, following the momentous Battle of Worcester, 1610 prisoners taken on the field by the Cromwellian forces were ordered sent to Virginia and on September 22 the Council of State ordered that the Committee on Prisoners not pass away to the Plantations any Lieutenants or Cornets of horse or any officers above that quality. [8] If any had already slipped away, the Council resolved to recover them if possible and give private soldiers in lieu of them. This has a world of significance for Virginia, inasmuch as it probably indicates that the vast majority of

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7. Sainsbury Abstracts, Virginia State Library, IV, 39-40, quoting Interregnum Entry Book, XC, 601.
8. Interregnum Entry Book, L, 69. See page 113, supra.

immigrants under the Interregnum were royalist soldiers with very few officers (most of the higher officers having escaped before 1651); the Cavalier sympathies of this large middle-class did not "make the front page" so to speak, along with the exploits of Lunsford and Molesworth, but as a group they constituted the overwhelming majority of settlers in Virginia, to whom the name of Parliament was anathema in the years after 1642.

There seems little doubt that most if not all of the royalist prisoners sent to Virginia went as servants; Mary Newton Stanard says that the Worcester captives were desired by the Virginians as servants. An entry in Sainsbury provides a valuable clue:

> 1651, September 25. That the Committee for Prisoners have power to dispose the Scots Ministers who are prisoners so as the Merchants for every 200 men they have do carry over one Scottish Minister gratis andthat when they come there they may be free from servitude. [9]

The inference to be drawn from the above is that non-ministers went as servants; this speaks eloquently for the political basis of servitude under the Interregnum, when, as has been shown, Virginia received her greatest influx of immigrants. To some readers these royalist servants may appear simply as the riff-raff clinging to the party of respectability, but in reality they were respectable folk whose forefathers had

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9. Sainsbury Abstracts, IV, 61; quoting Interregnum Entry Book, L, 74-5. See page 113, supra.

long been freemen - yeomen, gentlemen, or esquires - and whose only misfortune was to have cast in their lot with the Stuarts.

In 1653 license and liberty were granted to Sir John Clotworthy [10] (of an old family in Devon) and to Richard Netherway of Bristol to transport to Virginia "500 natural Irish men" and "100 of the Irish Toryes" respectively. Accordingly, we encounter in the land patents Virginia headrights whose surnames begin with O'- commencing about 1655. [11]

On January 18, 1655/6, the petition of Edward Penruddocke, kinsman of the hapless Col. John Penruddocke of Wiltshire who led the abortive royalist rising in that county which met with disaster at South Moulton in Devon, and of Edward Duke, prisoners at Exon, was granted, allowing them to go to Virginia instead of to Barbadoes. Both prisoners fit the pattern of Western Celtic royalists, inasmuch as the Penruddockes were a Wiltshire family who had emigrated down from Arcleby in Cumberland; the Dukes were an old Devonshire family, long seated at Otterton and Power Hayes in that county, but in later years resident in Wilts, Bedford, Surrey, and Kent.

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10. See page 32, supra.

11. George Cabell Greer, Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666 (Richmond, 1912). See page 162, infra.

Examination of Sainsbury's Abstracts yields Cox, Pigge, Penruddocke, Duke, and Col. Francis Lovelace [12] to add to our list of Cavaliers, and still the list is hardly begun.

Typical of the Cavaliers not previously mentioned was Colonel William Ball, a royalist who lost his estates under Cromwell and became Colonel Commandant of Lancaster County, Virginia, and Warden of Christ Church. Earl L. W. Heck, in his book on Col. William Ball, [13] indicates that he was probably on the royal side in the battles of Naseby and Marston Moor. He deduces from the absence of Ball's name from the records for eight years following his emigration in 1650 that he was waiting for a restoration to power of the Stuarts and regarded his stay in Virginia as of only temporary duration while troubled conditions prevailed in the Mother Country.

If Heck's deductions are correct, Col. William Ball, the royalist exile in Virginia, was the son of Rev. Richard Ball, Bachelor of Sacred Theology, Vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopgate, London. The pattern of Cavalier leader in Virginia whose relatives were churchmen in England is a common one; it applied to Ball's contemporaries, the Washington brothers, as well as to Ball's fellow-Burgess from Lancaster,

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12. See page 170, infra.

13. Earl L. W. Heck, Colonel William Ball of Virginia; the Great-Grandfather of Washington (London, 1928).

Colonel Raleigh Travers, who was well-related in the West of England, several members of his family having been ejected from Devonshire livings in the Civil War. Travers's daughter Elizabeth, as Mrs. Christopher Wormeley, died in 1702 leaving an elegant bequest of a "crimson satin quilt." Her quilt gives some slight evidence of the grand manner in which the better-heeled Cavaliers lived in colonial Virginia and her name shows the affinity of Cavalier families for each other. Ball and Travers were connected by marriage; Wormeley, Lunsford, and Chicheley were likewise connected. The link between Travers and Wormeley unites five of the upper-crust Cavalier families; this is said in no snobbish manner, but is simply a statement intending to convey something of the prestige, wealth, and social position of the families involved. Indeed, it is the tendency toward stratification and caste distinctions that has discredited the Cavalier tradition probably as much as any other; yet it is to be doubted whether the friendly spirit that must have existed at the time between any of the lofty Cavaliers and their more humble retainers could fail to convince even the most cynical skeptic today of the essential unity and harmony prevailing amongst seventeenth century Virginians, high and low, whose families had long been accustomed to celebrate the bringing in of the Yule Log and the crowning of the Lord of Misrule with their domestics. Inbreeding among Virginia

mountaineers of the present day merely reflects a continuance of the deep-rooted Cavalier conviction that "blood is thicker than water".

Lovelace, Gorsuch, Todd, and Tabb were a Cavalier foursome connected by ties of blood and marriage, as were Taliaferro, Grymes, Thornton, and Catlett or Underwood, Slaughter,[14] Catlett, and Meriwether. Haynie, Ball, Harris, and Downman formed another group, Kings-men all: Haynie, the King's attorney; Ball, the King's Colonel; Harris, the King's major; and Downman, the King's sheriff.

Other Cavaliers of humbler social position were William Darby, Philip Howard, and Cornelius Watkinson, who in 1655 participated in the acting of Ye Bare & Ye Cubb on the Eastern Shore, the first play on record in English North America. John Fawsett, the King's Attorney who acted as colonial censor, inasmuch as he acquitted the three, cannot have been very Puritanical in his views.[15]

Greer's listing among the immigrants a person with the intriguing name of Isaac Cavalier, brought in 1650 by Sir

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14. The numerous family of Slaughter in colonial Virginia migrated from the parish of Lower Slaughter in Gloucestershire, and fit the pattern of Southwestern colonists in the Old Dominion. It has been said that the oldest surnames in England are those which reflect split origins, half Celtic and half Germanic. Slaughter, which is derived from "Schloss-tre", meaning "Castle-village", is such a name having its genesis in the borderland of Celt and German where the Arthurian and Grail legends would seem to have taken shape.

15. See page 186 , infra.

Thomas "Luntsford" Knt. and "Barronett," gives rise to the fascinating speculation that perhaps this Cavalier might be a person of note endeavoring to conceal his true identity.[16] Examination of the actual patent to "Sir Thomas Luntsford" of 3,423 acres for the transportation of 65 persons discloses the fact that the list ends with the following names:

> Old Buck, William Harpay (?), Christofer Godson, Eliza. Scotchwoman, Martha, Isaac Cavalier, Gregory, Dandall, our (or one) Called the Indian, Penellope Harris, Mrs. Maidstone's Child.[17]

The whole passage gives one the distinct impression that an attempt is being made to conceal the true identity of the persons transported, without at the same time sacrificing any of the land lawfully accruing for their transportation. Sir Thomas Lunsford was not above such chicanery, and the fact that he transported 65 persons himself, who were doubtless of his own political persuasion, may well shed light on the manner in which the large-scale Cavalier immigration was effectuated.

Nothing could be more natural than that Cavalier gentlemen in Virginia would seek to assist former retainers in

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16. George Cabell Greer, Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666 (Richmond, 1912), 62. The name may have been his own, however, as the Yorkshire Cavaliers descend from Anthony Cavaler of London in 1554.

17. Nell Marion Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers (Richmond, 1934) I, 200.

SIR THOMAS LUNSFORD.
From an unique print in the British Museum.

From Illustration in Hudibras
(Bohn, London, 1859).

A WOUNDED EXILE

FRom Virginia Magazine of History & Biography,
XVII (1909).

A MERCENARY SOLDIER

From Hyder E. Rollins, Cavalier and Puritan (New York, 1923).

coming to the New World, not only because it would be gratifying to secure accessions of political henchmen who would support them for vestry elections in the church but also because of the fifty acres accruing for each headright. Of the twenty-four Cavalier names occurring in the list given on pages 145-148 (exclusive of the traveller Plantagenet) thirteen are easily located in Cavaliers and Pioneers as having imported persons into the colony as follows:

Bishop - 1646, 12 whites
1649, 6 whites
1652, self (by Nathaniel Bacon)

Bridger - 1664, 1/3 share in 24 whites
1666, 139 whites

Chicheley - 1654, 4 whites
1656, 44 whites
1656, 16 whites

Hammond - 1649, 63 whites
1654, self
1658, 12 whites
1661, 17 whites

Honeywood - 1649, 61 whites
Jenings - 1663, 20 whites
Langston - 1653, 26 whites
1655, 20 whites

Lunsford - 1650, 65 whites (one called the "Indian")

Molesworth - 1662, 15 whites

Skipwith - 1658, 18 whites

Washington - 1661, 24 whites
1664, 22 whites

Wilsford - 1649, 5 whites
1652, 1 white
1653, 1 white
1655, 1 white

Woodward - 1655, 10 whites

As far as the present writer knows, there were no other importations made by the above-named Cavaliers. The Col. Henry Bishop who made importations in 1646 and 1649 may be another than our Mr. Henry Bishop, the Cavalier; but the fact that all importations by Cavaliers of undoubted stamp, with only seven exceptions falling after the Restoration, occurred in the years of Cavalier exile from 1649 to 1660 says much for the Cavalier theory.

What says far more than this little table, however, is the result of a tabular study of the supporters of the King mentioned by Lord Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. [18] This study has brought to light royalists, most of them of considerable importance, bearing 247 different surnames. Of these surnames, 206 furnished the colony previous to 1667 with 1688 colonists, the vast majority of whom must have been royalists. Thomas Trevannion, whose namesake in England was

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18. See Appendix XI.

killed at Bristol in 1643, appears to have come to Virginia in 1645. Francis Killagrew, of a name prominent in Cornish and Royalist circles, came to the colony in 1663. An average of eight colonists per royalist surname entered the colony at some time or other, the overwhelming majority between the years 1642 and 1666. If such a remarkable showing can be demonstrated for "upper crusters" how much more would the Cavalier theory crystallize into fact if the names of enlisted men in the King's armies were known and could be compared with Virginia immigrant lists!

Appendices XII, XIII, and XIV furnish some insight into English, Welsh, and Irish colonists in seventeenth century Virginia. Generally speaking, the English immigrants would appear to have been from the Southwest in larger numbers than Swem's Virginia Historical Index [19] would lead one to believe. Welsh and Irish immigrants, by and large, may be lumped with Royalists. If all 5152 references to Welsh colonists in Nugent represented separate individuals, it would mean that one man in eight, approximately, in colonial Virginia was a Welshman. The only notable

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19. See page 131, supra.

bodies of Puritans in Wales were around Pembroke (where Saxons and Flemings who had accompanied the Clares had maintained racial purity for several hundred years according to Cleanth Brooks), the townsmen of Wrexham, and the followers of Middleton of Chirke. So universal was the adherence of the Welsh to the royal cause that Edward Bowles's pamphlet, "Plaine English" of 1643 said:

> "...let the Lords and Gentlemen fight for their lusts, the Divines and Lawyers for the keeping and getting preferments, the Delinquents for their estates, the Welchmen for the word King and a Common-Prayer Book, the poor for pillage, the ignorant they know not why."

The Irish, who are referred to as "Toryes" (a term for Hibernian papists that gave rise to one of the most famous partisan labels in English political history) in the Seinsbury Abstracts, were suspected of having stirred up the rebellion in Donegal, Londonderry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone at the instigation of King Charles himself, and were regarded askance by good Puritans; indeed, the curse of Cromwell remains to this day the most formidable imprecation an Irishman can hurl at an adversary. Hence, it is not surprising that Celtic Britisher, Welshman, and Irishman all found haven together in Virginia upon the collapse of the Celtic royal family.

Since much has been made by some writers of the plebeian character of Virginia population, it is of interest to note

that over six hundred of the colonists whose names appear in the Virginia land patents possessed surnames that had long been honorably accepted in the House of Lords.[20] Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard, in appraising the number of aristocrats in Virginia, has listed one baron, Fairfax; a son of an earl, Percy; three sons of another baron, Delaware; and the grandson and great-grandson of two others, Henry Willoughby and William Fairfax. She has listed three families descended from younger sons of baronets: Rodes, Booth, and Bathurst (from which the Meriwether-Lewis connection descends). In addition there were Sir Henry Chicheley, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Fleetwood Dormer, Sir Dudley Wyatt, and Sir John Zouch among the knights who sought these shores. William Bernard, nephew of the husband of Shakespeare's granddaughter, came; also John Donne's son George Donne; Henry Finch, brother of Sir John Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons; Francis Lovelace, brother of Sir Richard Lovelace, the Cavalier Poet; Nathaniel Littleton, brother of the Lord Keeper; and the Morysons, whose sister married Lord Falkland. Of the English gentry there were the Brents, Calthorpes, Chamberlaynes, Chichesters, Cliftons, Cokes, Diggeses, Evelyns, Filmers, Ishams, Littletons, Ludlows, Mallorys, and Wyatts. There were, it is true, mercantile families, which Mrs. Stanard somewhat unjustly denies to have possessed gentle connections; among these she lists the Bennetts, Blands, Carys, Bollings, Byrds, Metcalfes,

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20. See Appendix XV.

(who appear among the "Royal Martyrs"), and Terrells. It was, no doubt, true that in colonial Virginia blood and money complemented each other. Digges became represented by Harrison, Evelyn by Byrd, and Isham by Randolph. The mercantile families carried on the traditions of the Cavaliers and kept alive the memory of the men whose joy was in singing:

> Though for a time we see Whitehall
> With cobwebs hung around the wall,
> Yet heaven shall make amends for all,
> When the King shall enjoy his own again.

Two questions remain to be answered: Why did the Cavaliers come to Virginia? Why did they not return to England upon the Restoration in 1660?

In the opinion of the present writer, the West English merchants, sailors, and gentry who colonized Virginia under the Company and the decade or two following its dissolution were relatives of and closely associated socially and commercially with the inhabitants of the portion of England which was strongest for the King in the Civil War. Th
This, as well as King Charles's benevolence to the colony, accounts for the overwhelmingly Cavalier sentiment of the colony in 1644. Fortunately we have left to us the account of David Pietorszon De Vries, Ordnance Master of West Friesland, who made voyages from Holland to America from 1632 to

1644. This worthy Hollander was invited by Sir William Berkeley to spend the winter of 1644 with him as his guest. Upon his departure in April, De Vries makes the following statement in his diary:

> The 13th of the same month, took my leave of the governor, with my thanks, and drifted down the river to Blank [21] Point, where there was a large fly-boat from Brustock, [22] and there came two Londoners sailing down the river, intending to capture this fly-boat from Brustock because the Brustock people adhered to the King, and the Londoners to the Parliament. So there was a sharp engagement with the fly-boat, which sailed into the creek at Blank Point, and the Londoners could not get nearer to it than a couple of musket shots, because their ships drew too much water. They did what damage they could to each other with cannon shot, and some people were killed. At evening they ceased firing. We went on board of one of the London ships at evening, which did not now come to the land, because the governor and all the people of the country were in favour of the King. These two ships were compelled to go to London without tobacco. They went in company with us. [23]

De Vries spent the night aboard the London vessel and in the morning went aboard the fly-boat from Brust (Bristol), which was damaged some by the two ships and had lost a man who was a planter of the country who had come aboard to buy some goods. In company with Parliamentary ships, which would appear to have been trading at Kecoughtan, where Gookin and other Puritans appear to have dwelt, De Vries returned across theAtlantic.

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21. Blunt (Blount?) Point.
22. Bristol in Gloucestershire. Bristol Harbor appears on Dutch charts of the period as "Hafen van Brusto."
23. David Pietersz. De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, A.D. 1632 to 1644. Translated by Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1853).

De Vries's statement that "all the people of the country" were for the King would be of more value had he not been a guest of Berkeley, but inasmuch as it is made by a neutral observer who was allowed aboard Parliament's ships and received hospitality from both factions, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, it should be gracefully accepted by all historical scholars. It gives the clue to why Royalists came to Virginia in the years following 1644; the atmosphere was congenial to Kings-men from the outset of the Civil War.

As to why the Cavaliers remained in Virginia after the Restoration, brief comment will suffice. One of the Balls did return to England and married Frances Ravenscroft, a relative, probably, of the Capt. John Raven(s)croft, who was at so much trouble to obtain a pass in 1652 to Virginia. Anthony Langston and others did return. However, the clue to the behavior of the majority of Cavalier colonists may be gleaned from Sainsbury's note on Colonel Guy Molesworth:

> 1666 (?) Petition of Col. Guy Molesworth to the King. He prays for relief or employment or assistance to return to Virginia. He received twenty-five wounds in the Royal Service and in 1650 was banished to the Barbadoes, was afterwards commissioned for Portugal, and on his return, good was promised him, but after three years attendance nothing is granted. [24]

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24. Sainsbury Abstracts, Virginia State Library, XV, 106, quoting Domestic Docquet, Charles II, CLXXXVI, No. 78.

The "rusty Cavaleer" is embarrassed for want of "coyne and cuffes." [25] At the court of King Charles II swarmed those who lately were his "chiefest foes," among them Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Bart. of Brightwell, who had been the first Roundhead, [26] and his brother Sir Thomas Barnardiston of Ketton (namesake of Calvin's student at Geneva under the old days when Bloody Mary reigned), both of whom were created Baronets in 1663 by Charles II and in whose veins flowed the blood of Sir Richard Knightley, patron of Puritans, sheriff at the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, and harborer of the Marprelate Press.

It was to the dashed hopes of Molesworth and his ilk that Virginia owed the continued residence within her confines of erstwhile Cavaliers in the second half of the seventeenth century.

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25. See page 196 , infra.

26. See page 19 , supra.

CHAPTER NINE - THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND THE STATE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

Brock, Goodwin, Meade, Neill, Slaughter, and Mason have given us a picture of the colonial church in Virginia that shows how closely related were the name of the King and the doctrines of the church for which he stood. Charles I is reported to have said at one time that he would give up no one of the three things he most prized: his crown, his church, or his friends. John Burk in his History of Virginia said that there is strong reason to believe that religious zeal alone was the principal cause of the "supposed" attachment of Virginians to the King.[1] Virginia was less vehement in her attachment than was Barbadoes, which, instigated by Lord Willoughby and under the leadership of the Walrond brothers refused to acknowledge the Republic, suppressed conventicles, banished Roundheads, laid claim to freedom of trade with all nations, and appeared on the point of declaring its independence. The force and intrigue employed by hothead young Royalists in Barbadoes, fresh from defeat and sequestration at home, were never equalled in Virginia. Samuel R. Gardiner pictured two parties in Virginia, the one represented by the Governor and Council of strong Royalist tendencies, and the other by the elected Burgesses, who sat in the same

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1. John Burk, The History of Virginia from its First Settlement to the Present Day (4 vols., Petersburg, 1805), 75.

house with the Councilors and who, "if they did not sympathise warmly with the English Puritans, were not disposed to risk material loss by resisting them." [2]

By the agreement of March 12, 1652, the colony was brought under the Commonwealth, and Berkeley retired to Green Spring, although he had been continuing to act as governor in the King's name in accordance with the commission sent him by Charles II before he left Breda in 1650, in which Charles suggested fit candidates for various governmental offices. For three years after the execution of Charles, Virginians acknowledged the authority of the second of the name, although he was not officially proclaimed, as some have asserted. [3] According to tradition Charles II wore at his coronation, in compliment to the Old Dominion, the most loyal of his colonies, a robe made of silk spun by silkworms in Gloucester County, Virginia, though his generosity never later manifested itself in any more tangible manner.

During the Interregnum Col. Richard Lee is supposed to have carried to Charles II a scheme to set him up as King in Virginia. Although the interview had no result, it is stated as a fact by Petrie, [4] and John Esten Cooke has declared that it was testified to as a fact by William Lee,

2. Samuel R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656 (2 vols., London, 1903), II, 142. Cf. page 135, supra.
3. Unless the Accomac Manifesto of 1649 be deemed a "proclamation." See John Esten Cooke, Virginia, a History of the People (Boston, 1887), 217 for the assertion that the Restoration in Virginia did not precede that in England.
4. Sir Charles Petrie, The Stuarts (Boston, 1937), 245.

Sheriff of London, a brother of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia.[5] What is certain is that a pass was granted in 1652 to Col. Francis Lovelace with his servant and necessaries to repair to "the late King of Scots" in France with news of the surrender of Virginia to the Parliament. It was signed by Richard Bennett and William Claiborne, Parliamentary Commissioners for Virginia. The device resorted to by Parliament had been an appeal to all friends of Parliament in the colony and a promise of freedom to all slaves and indentured servants of royalists who would join the Parliamentary forces (anticipating the tactics of Lord Dunmore and Abraham Lincoln in the two succeeding centuries). The question that immediately arises is why, if the Parliamentary supporters would go to these lengths, did they not persecute Berkeley and his adherents? The Burgesses in October, 1649, had in their first act of the session referred to Charles I as "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king"; and they had threatened that

> What person soever shall go about to defend or maintain the late traitorous proceedings against the aforesaid King of most happy memory, shall be adjudged an accessory post factum, to the death of the aforesaid King, and shall be proceeded against for the same, according to the known laws of England.[6]

The execution of the King was thus made treason and those

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5. John Esten Cooke, Virginia, a History of the People (Boston, 1887), 218.

6. Cooke, op. cit., 193.

who sought to justify it were to be punished with death. The same penalty was to be incurred by those who in any way questioned the undoubted and inherent right of "his Majesty that now is" to the colony of Virginia and all other his Majesty's dominions. If Gardiner be correct in pointing out that the Burgesses were not Royalist, how can this action of the Burgesses be explained? The true explanation, in Cooke's opinion, is that the Parliamentary forces were glad to gain the advantage by the treaty of 1652 and had no desire to push things too far in a colony where the rank and file of the population still remained Cavalier in sympathy, by which is meant friendly to Church and King.

Cooke has presented a keen and intriguing analysis to show that in 1660 the Assembly in Virginia was full Cavalier; an act of that body included the phrase:

> There being in England noe resident absolute and gen'll confessed power.

The implication is unmistakably that there was a non-resident power; viz., King Charles II, who would never have been thus covertly acknowledged by Virginians unless they were his friends. [7]

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7. John Esten Cooke, Virginia, a History of the People (Boston, 1887).

The relevance of all the foregoing to the Church in Virginia is apparent from the bare fact that it was the Head of the Church that had been cut off in 1649.[8] Virginians sought to find the head of this caesaropapism in France; Englishmen forced upon them the doctrine that it existed no longer. What was in the mind of many Virginians may be seen from an anonymous pamphlet of 1659 which appeared in England under the title, "The Interest of England Stated," according to which:[9]

> 'Tis the Royalist's desire to bring in the King a Conquerour, to recover their losses in the late War, be rendered capable of civil employment, and have the former Government of the Church....
>
> The Royalist and English Protestant, besides that his principles oblige him cheerfully to pay his obedience where it is due, and to look no further, is likewise by his Interest concern'd to be content with such a restitution of the King as allows no private reparations for past sufferings; they thereby acquiring full possession of what remains; and the settlement of the Nation would

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8. See page 14, supra.

9. "The Interest of England Stated: or, a Faithful and Just Account of the Aims of All Parties now Pretending. Distinctly treating of the Designements of the Roman Catholick, the Royalist, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, the Army, the Late Protector, the Parliament, with their Effects in respect of themselves, of one another, and of the Publick. Clearly evidencing the unavoydable ruine upon all from longer contest: and Offering an Expedient for the composure of the respective Differences; to the security and advantage not onely of every single Interest, but to the bringing solid, lasting, Peace unto the Nation. Printed in the year 1659 and, probably, about the 20th of July." Reprinted in Francis Maseres, Occasional Essays (London, 1809).

> make the smallest estate more advantagious than the greatest would be, if acquired by violence; which unavoydably would defeat all terms of union, and involve the Nation in new Wars: So likewise, if the necessary parts of their way of Worship be secured, (which no party would envy them, being in a manner grafified as much themselves) circumstantials, other things, would be easily settled by a fair and amicable treaty....
>
> The Royalist pretension of having the King an absolute Conquerour, as it would destroy the Interests of all parties that have appeared against him or his Father, would infringe the liberties of the English Subjects in general, and in fine, oppress the Cavalier himself: besides, it is in no way attainable by that party, being inconsiderable both in number and warlike preparations to the rest: yet farther, should he so prevail, the looking-back for restitution of all damages past in so many years, were utterly against his interest, and would forfeit the most absolute victory: no power being retained by violence, however acquired thereby. And in those terms of difficulty, the setting-up the primitive Government of the Church, at least in its full height, against so great a multitude of eager dissenters, according to probability will not stand.

Catholics, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists or Quakers, in the opinion of the unknown author, fatally weakened the English body social and religious so that no restoration of the status quo ante was possible. Lord Macaulay remarked upon the disappearance of many old English families from the scene; [10] the anonymous writer has noted the numerical weakness of the Cavalier party in England. The answer is to be found partly in the statement of Colonel Henry Norwood, fugitive to Virginia on the "Virginia Merchant," Captain Locker's foul vessel, in 1649:

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10. Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (5 vols., Boston, 1861), I, 93.

> A very considerable number of nobility, clergy, and gentry so circumstanc'd, did fly from their native country as from a place infected with the plague and did betake themselves to travel any where to shun so hot a contagion, there being no point of the compass that would not suit with some of our tempers and circumstances, for transportation into foreign lands.[11]

According to Norwood, Royalists who lacked neither money nor credit went to Surinam, Barbadoes, Antigua, or the Leewards; as for him and his companions, Cary, Fox, and Moryson (also probably Hammond and Honeywood), the matter of economy in finances made up their minds in favor of Virginia, and the hardships they endured in arriving there are an eloquent witness to the poverty of such as had managed to raise the six pounds passage money. Of the clergy in Virginia whose departure from England can be shown to have been for political reasons closely connected with the civil altercations of 1642-1648, at least three may be cited: Rev. Edward Folliott of Worcestershire, who was in Virginia by 1652, was sequestered by the Parliamentary Commission under Cromwell; Rev. Alexander Murray was with Charles II at Worcester's field of defeat; and Rev. Thomas Teakle, progenitor of a numerous and influential family on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, where he had located by 1652, is known to have fled to the colony after the death of Charles.

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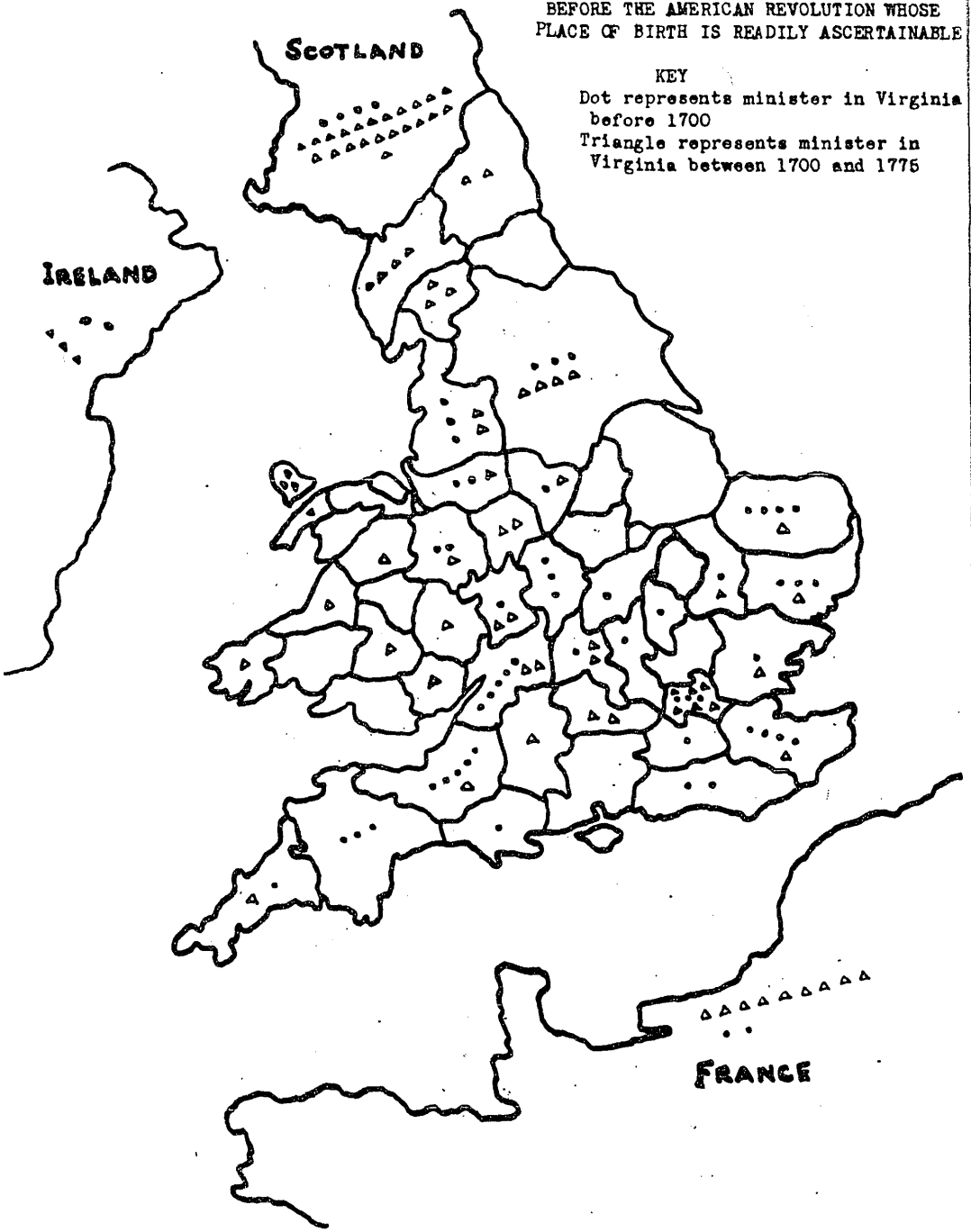
11. Henry Norwood, "A Voyage to Virginia by Colonel Norwood," in Peter Force, Force's Historical Tracts (4 vols., Washington, 1836-1847), III, No. 10, 3.

...prohibited without permission.

MAP OF THE BRITISH ISLES
AND FRANCE
ILLUSTRATING THE
AREAS OF NATIVITY OF THE
147 ANGLICAN MINISTERS IN VIRGINIA
BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WHOSE
PLACE OF BIRTH IS READILY ASCERTAINABLE

KEY
Dot represents minister in Virginia before 1700
Triangle represents minister in Virginia between 1700 and 1775



Based on E.L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (London, 1927).

Among other ministers who appear to have come to Virginia in the Interregnum period the following, whose birthplace in England is known, may be listed:

Alford, George, 1658
Bracewell, Robert, ante 1651
Calvert, Sampson, 1649
Green, Roger, 1653
Lesley, Robert, ante 1654
Lindsay, David, 1655
Mallory, Philip, ante 1656
Munro, John, Sr., circum 1650 [12]

A study of the one hundred forty-seven Anglican ministers in Virginia previous to the American Revolution whose birthplace is readily identifiable in Goodwin's Colonial Clergy in Virginia reveals the fact that twenty-five seventeenth century ministers were born to the West of the line from Isle of Wight to the border of Derby and Nottingham, as against twenty-two born to the East of the same line. A large proportion of the twenty-two came to Virginia in the Company period, a fact which highlights the increasing preponderance of Westerners in Virginia pulpits in the last three-quarters of the seventeenth century. In the same period there were four Scots, two Irishmen, and two French Huguenots enjoying livings in Virginia.

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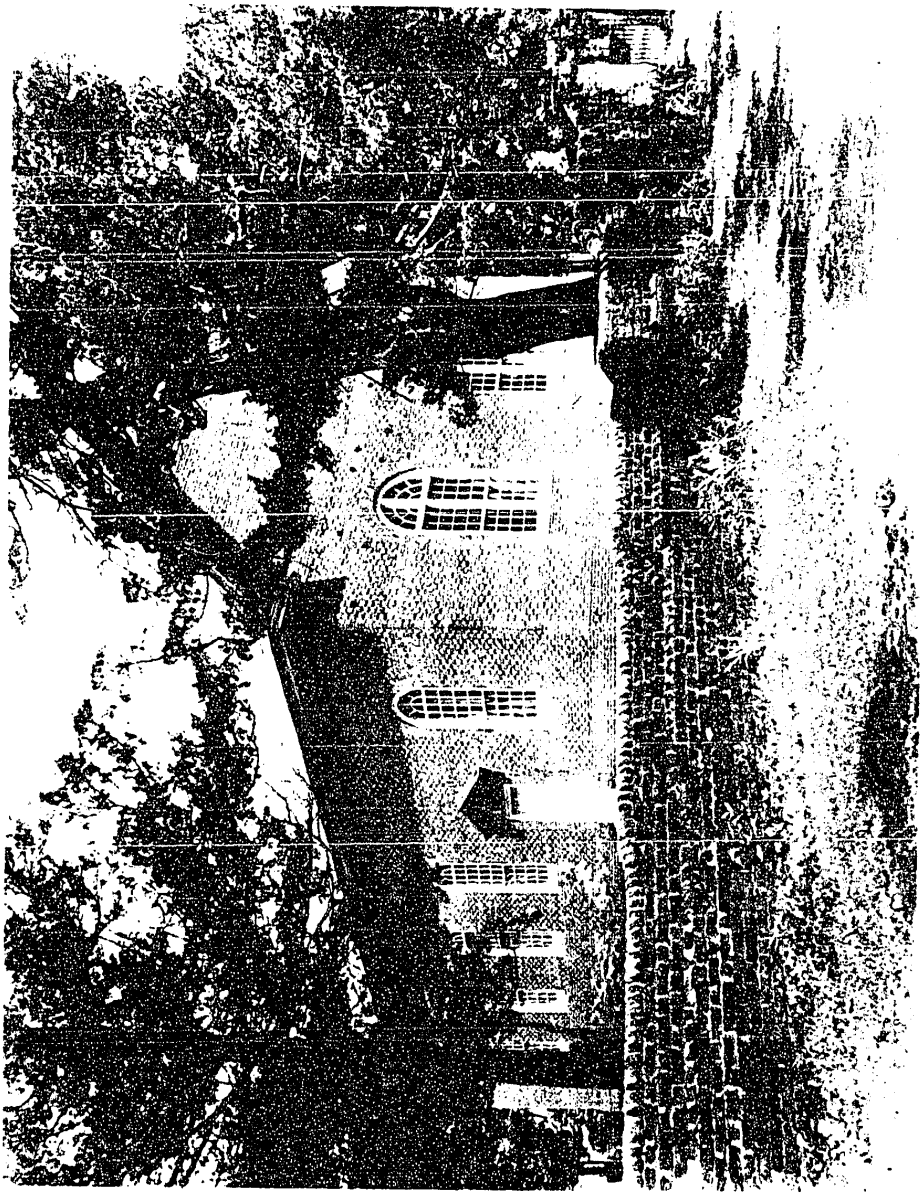
12. Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (London, 1927).



WARE CHURCH, GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

from Henry Irving Brock, Colonial Churches in Virginia (Richmond, 1930), 31. Photo by Frances B. Johnston.

The appearance in 1945 of George Carrington Mason's Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia,[13] has made possible an examination of churchbuilding activity in colonial Virginia from a chronological standpoint, which clearly manifests unflagging Anglican zeal in the erection of churches throughout the Interregnum and well into the Restoration period. The number of Anglican churches built and dissenting churches built or obtained for purposes of meeting or service during the century may be seen from the accompanying table:

NUMBER OF CHURCHES

Decade	Anglican	Dissenting
1607-1609	2	0
1610-1619	5	0
1620-1629	6	0
1630-1639	6	0
1640-1649	13	1??
1650-1659	11	0
1660-1669	19	1
1670-1679	5	3
1680-1689	10	0
1690-1700	18	2
TOTALS	95	7

13. George Carrington Mason, Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia (Richmond, 1945). The table above is based on Appendix XVI, prepared from Mason's exhaustive study of the subject. Ralph Eubank's little pamphlet, "Touring Historyland" dealing with the Northern Neck fails to reveal the exact number of churches in Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, and Westmoreland counties that should be added to the above list. Seventeenth century church buildings would seem to be extremely rare in the Northern Neck, a region with which Mason does not profess to deal, although his treatment of the Eastern Shore is exhaustive.

Although there is little evidence to be adduced with regard to the functioning of the Church in Virginia during the Commonwealth period, it would seem that, although the Anglican Church was no longer the established church in theory under the Provisional Government, in practice it was much the same as it had been for forty odd years. The Anglican system continued to function materially undisturbed by the political and religious struggles in the Mother Country. Mary Newton Stanard thinks that the liturgy of the Church of England continued in use in Virginia throughout the Commonwealth period. Permission was granted to use the Prayer Book for "one year" after the surrender in 1652, which would lead one to think that it was to be prohibited later; however, its use appears never to have been forbidden. The Virginia Assembly offered a bonus of twenty pounds sterling to anyone who would import a minister and exempted every minister and six of his servants from taxation, with the proviso "that every such minister be examined and approved by the Reverend Philip Mallory and the Reverend John Green." [14]

Herein lay the real key to the Anglican Church in Virginia under the Commonwealth. Mallory was a refugee Royalist and staunch Church of England man, having been ejected from

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14. Mary Newton Stanard, The Story of Virginia's First Century (Philadelphia, 1928), 229. See page 176, supra.

the rectory of Norton in Durham, England, in 1644.[15] Upon the Restoration the Assembly adopted the following resolution:

> Whereas Mr. Philip Mallory hath been eminently faithful in the ministry and very diligent...in all those things that might conduce to the advancement of religion in this country...he is requested to go to England and take measures in behalf of the Church in Virginia.[16]

The fact that there is no record of any act reestablishing the Church in Virginia after the Restoration would seem to indicate that its life had been comparatively unruffled during the years of turmoil in England. "R.G.," an unknown refugee minister of the Church of England, author of "Virginia's Cure," although he criticized some features of religious life in Virginia, said that ministers going to the colony would find there a people with great love for the Church of England, "which gave us (who went thither under the late persecution of it) the advantage of Liberty to use it constantly among them after the Naval force had reduced the colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the usurpers."[17]

For his crown, his church, and his friends King Charles endured death with dignity. Adherence to his second love,

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15. See page 176, supra; Cf. pages 153-154, supra.
16. Mary Newton Stanard, The Story of Virginia's First Century (Philadelphia, 1928), 230.
17. Stanard, op. cit., 230.

his church, became a symbol for Virginians of their unfailing allegiance to the old order after his death and the dispersion of his loyal Cavaliers. The paramount position of the Anglican Church in colonial Virginia is one among many indications that Cavaliers constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. Puritan, Quaker, and Presbyterian dissenters drew few followers in Virginia away from the established church in the seventeenth century. It remained the state church for eighty-six years of the following century in the face of increased activity on the part of Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, and Reformed led by Jefferson, descendant of the Puritan Isham whose will Feargod Barbon witnessed, who penned the immortal Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom. In speaking of colonial times Prof. J. H. Latané was justified in his statement:

> Virginia was from 1607 to 1655, and for many a long year afterwards, whole for monarchy and the Church of England.[18]

* * *

18. Philip A. Bruce, "Book Review - Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-5), 109-116.

CHAPTER TEN - VIRGINIA DIALECT A COMBINATION OF LONDON AND SOUTHWEST ENGLISH

Without sound recordings of the speech of a typical Virginian of the seventeenth century and of contemporaries in various sections of England it is impossible to say with certainty at this late date what dialect within England exerted the greatest influence upon Virginia speech. Upon two things, however, the authorities seem to be agreed:

1) Virginia English was not that spoken in the North of England; and
2) Virginia English was not the dialect of New England.

Orbeck, Krapp, and Cleanth Brooks are in agreement that the roots of New England speech are to be found in East Anglia, termed by Andrews "the Cradle of Puritanism;" [1] and where the Eastern Dialect of English was spoken. Of the remaining English dialects that may have been the prototype of Virginia speech, Midland, Southern, London, Western, and Southwestern, only two, London and Southwestern have been seriously advanced.

Bennett Wood Green makes the categorical statement that Virginia English "is the Southwestern," and cites the large number of influential colonizers from the Southwest and many Virginia words peculiar to the Southwest of England in support

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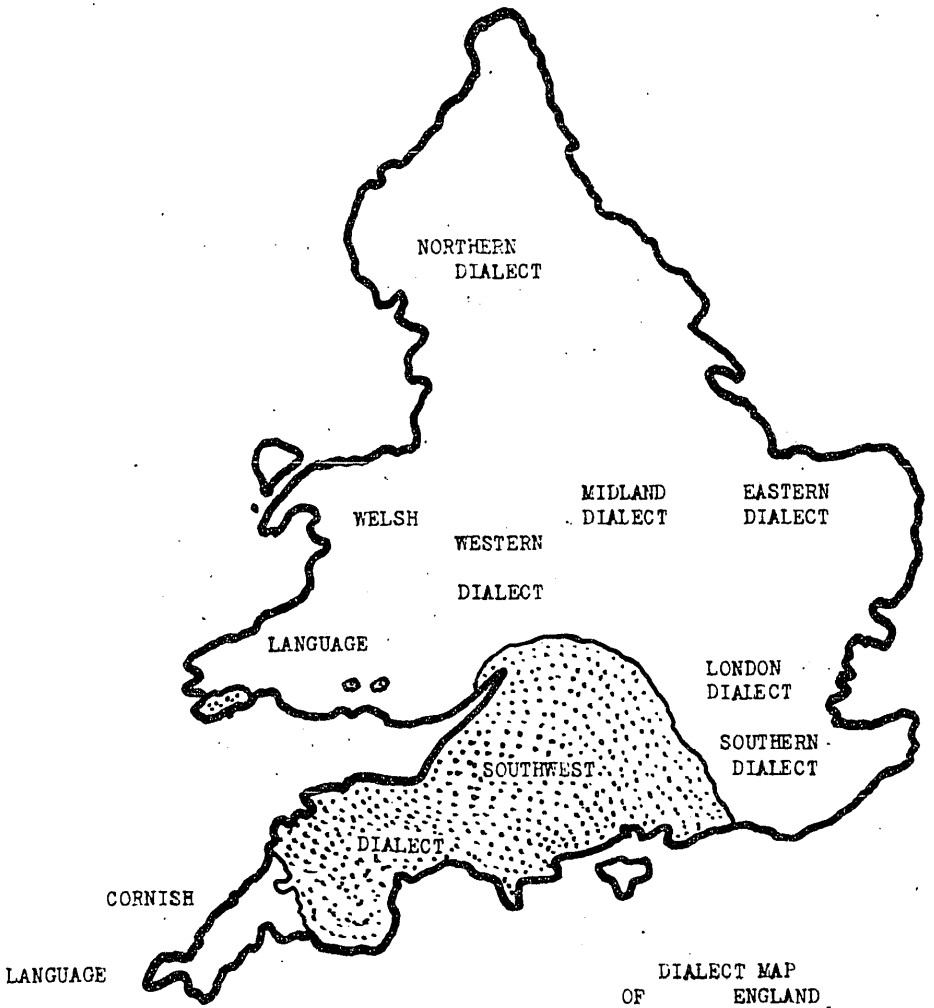
1. See page 130, <u>supra</u>.

of his contention.[2] Along the same line, Cleanth Brooks, who recognizes the common origin of Virginia and Alabama-Georgia dialects, on the basis of a study of speech variants for the latter, concludes that Southwest England will account for ninety per cent of the variants. Paullin's figures show that the major portion of New England settlers came from East Anglia; they also show that outside of London, the largest group of Virginia settlers were from areas of royalist sympathy, which was provably strongest in the Southwest. Hugh Jones, writing in 1724, asserted that the Virginians spoke like Londoners, and philological evidence is not lacking to support this statement. However, we must bear in mind that Jones was probably a Welshman-born from Langrack in Anglesey with a foreign ear unattuned to subtle nuances of dialect in English speech, any works that he may have written on English grammar to the contrary,notwithstanding. Jones's association at William and Mary College with the more cultivated Virginians may have influenced his statement in favor of London. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that he may have wished to avoid creating the impression in England that Virginia speech was rustic.[3]

It is believed by the present writer that the speech of Virginia mountaineers in the Southwestern part of the state today and of negroes constitutes a surer index to seventeenth

2. Bennett Wood Green, Word Book of Virginia Folk Speech(Richmond, 1912).
3. See Appendix XVII.



DIALECT MAP
OF ENGLAND
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

century Virginia speech than does the speech of Virginians in Tidewater, who almost certainly are the descendants of individuals who aped London speech from the eighteenth century on. Upland Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama dialect, in like manner, would reflect seventeenth century Virginia speech more accurately than would modern dialect in the coastal areas.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - THE PURITAN WAR ON THE THEATER AND BALLADS AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE STAGE AND TRADITIONAL BALLADS IN VIRGINIA

Every student of Shakespeare's plays has some familiarity with the opposition to the theater in Elizabethan and Stuart England displayed by Puritan circles. The eclipse of the play-house in Cromwellian England is a point that has been given too much attention by other writers to be given lengthy consideration here. The status of the theater in colonial Virginia should shed some light on the comparative influence of Cavalier and Puritan elements in the population. Fortunately the research of Robert Hunt Land, Librarian of William and Mary College, on this subject sheds considerable light. If there were plays at Jamestown, they went unrecorded,[1] but in 1665 the first play on record in British North America was acted on the Eastern Shore, a native production, Ye Bare & Ye Cubb, which appeared on the court records of Accomac following the complaint of the puritanically-minded Edward Martin. The play, which had been first acted on August 27, 1665, at Cowles's Tavern on St. George's Church Road near Pungoteague, was ordered to be reenacted before a colonial "board of censors" consisting of John Fawsett, King's Attorney for Accomac, and his fellow-justices. The actors were acquitted, and it is to be assumed that the justices enjoyed

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1. Robert H. Land, "Theatre in Colonial Virginia," unpublished thesis, Alderman Memorial Library, University of Virginia (1936), 106.

the play, indicating absence of puritanical prejudice on their part. Even the Governor of the colony must have been of like mind, as Sir William Berkeley was the author of The Lost Lady, a tragi-comedy in three acts, which Samuel Pepys liked better the second time he saw it performed in London in 1661. Land states that Berkeley while in Virginia wrote a play, Cornelia, acted in London in 1662, which he may well have had enacted before him and his friends in the colony. [2] The fact that there were never laws against the stage in Virginia under the Commonwealth indicates nothing either way. However, one historian of the American theater, Hornblow, said that in Virginia from the earliest time the mummer, "as opportunity allowed, assumed the motley." [3] The colonists are known to have been amused by Indian and Negro dances at festive gatherings, and the establishment of a theater at the colonial capital early in the eighteenth century indicates a favorable attitude on the part of the public toward play-acting, at least in the chief city.

With the foregoing rather inadequate observations on the stage in colonial Virginia the reader will have to be content until more pertinent material is brought to light. In the field of music and poetry, notably of ballads, a golden treasure

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2. Land, op. cit., 106.

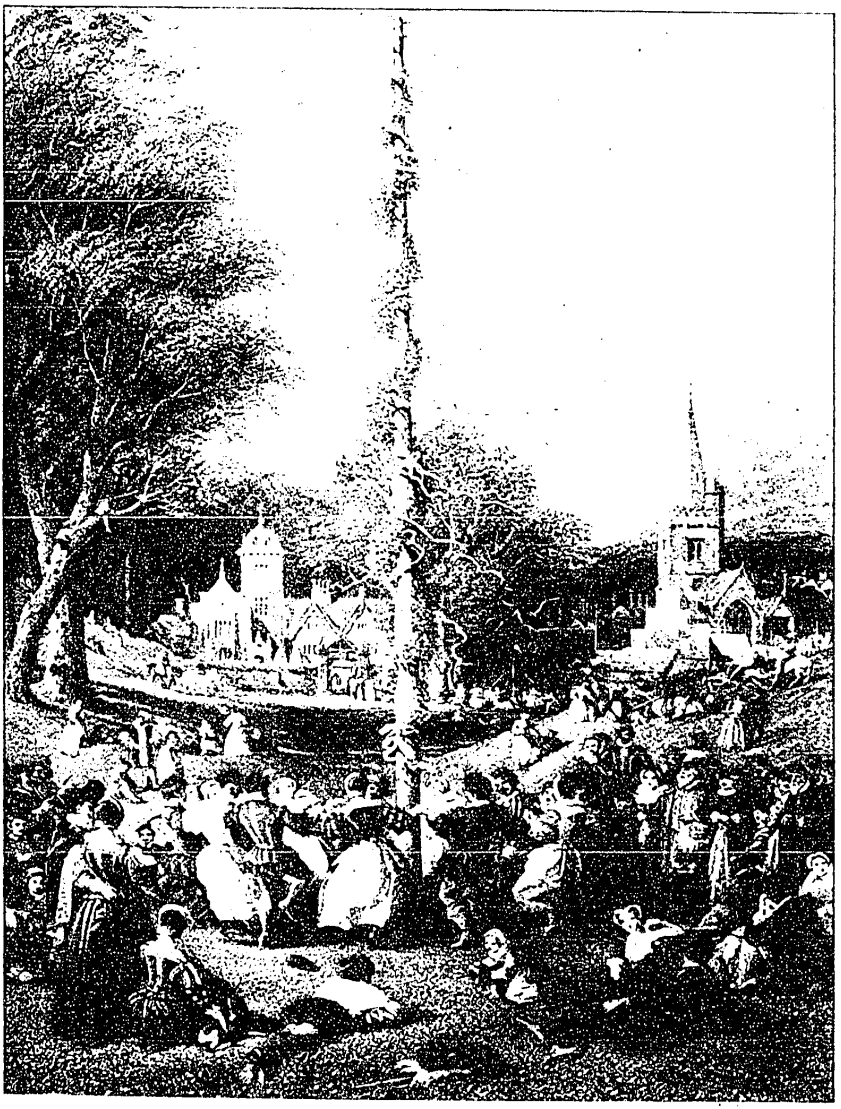
3. Ibid., 107, relying on Arthur Hornblow, A History of the Theatre in America (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1919), I, 10.

awaits the patient researcher.

There are ballads and ballads. Some ballads are political; some are love ballads by a known author. The traditional ballad is the anonymous ballad, the folk song that is slow to die. The maypole, the morris dance, the country jig, and the ballad had deep roots in the rural England of the 1600's. Perhaps one of the greatest and strongest ties that has bound Virginia and Virginians by love and respect to the Mother Country in spite of the misunderstanding that occurred around 1776 has been the similarity of the customs and songs of the two regions. Robin Hood and Barbara Allen are ties that bind men, though they come from the ends of the earth. Had the Puritans retained control on either side of the water, it is likely that this tie between Virginians and Englishmen would have been broken.

Hyder E. Rollins, who has made an invaluable contribution to the student of Cavalier and Puritan poetry, denies that the Puritans ever succeeded even in completely stifling "frivolous" songs and ballads in England. In speaking of his own edition of ballads, Rollins says:

> All other editions of Commonwealth ballads have been purely political. The satirical songs and libels that make up the bulk of Thomason's collection are of unfailing interest; but they put a false emphasis on one activity of the ballad-writers. Furthermore, they



THE MAYPOLE

(From an engraving after Joseph Nash)

from Mrs. Lilly Grove, Dancing (The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes, Boston, 1895), 146.

> necessarily give the impression that the rise of Cromwell to power brought to an end the ballad-singing that for a century had made England in general and London in particular merry. But such a notion is totally false. London, though overawed by the Puritans, was a far from doleful city; her amusements were far from being completely crushed. The light-hearted ditties of the years 1649-1656 printed in this volume furnish indisputable evidence that war and censorship did not at all change the type of ballads. London people craved and obtained songs exactly like those to which they had for years been accustomed. And it is significant that these ditties almost without exception bear in their colophons the names and addresses of the printers - significant because the laws against printing should have hindered their appearance. Thomason may have thought these ballads unworthy of preservation because of the frothiness of their subjects. The modern reader, on the other hand, will find "A Kiss of a Seaman" (No. 60) quite as significant as the most libelous ballad written against Cromwell. [4]

Under the impulse of the Bishops' Wars (May, 1639 - October, 1640), ballad writers turned almost exclusively to journalism. In 1641 certain strait-laced Puritans began objecting to all ballads, whatever their subject. The twenty-third article in Corda Angliae: Or, The Generall Expressions of the Land; Moving xxv. Particulars to the Honourable Assembly in the High Court of Parliament petitioned that

> All vaine and ungodly bookes, ballads, love-songs, and lascivious bookes, and vaine pamphlets, may be called in, and no more such may be ever tolerated hereafter, or dispersed either in print, or in manuscript; which vaine bookes, ballads, and pamphlets, have taken deeper impression upon the hearts of many thousands, to draw them to live and delight in those actions of sin, into which they have beene seduced by reading of them. [5]

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4. Hyder E. Rollins, Cavalier and Puritan; Ballads and Broadsides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660 (New York, 1923), 6.

5. Ibid., 11-12.

One did not have to be an Anglican to write a ballad; in 1642, a rabid hater of the episcopacy wrote the famoud ballad, "The Bishop's Last Good Night." From 1641 to 1643 at least twenty-four ballad-writers are known to have been working in England; they are known by name, and their number was augmented by men of letters who saw in the ballad an effective weapon to use against Parliament and for the King. Among these were John Cleveland, John Taylor, Alexander Brome, Sir John Birkenhead, and Sir John Mennis. The Actors' Remonstrance (1643) declares that the silencing of their profession by Parliament has already caused many players to join "Martin Parker's societie, and write ballads" and will probably cause others to do likewise. One of these was Thomas Jordan. Other actors became pamphleteers. Thus Mercurius Militaris was written "by one John Harris, sometimes a Players Boy, a Rogue by the Statute; and since the suppression of the Playhouses, hath betaken himself to the Profession of a Printer." During the Interregnum, according to Rollins, there was practically no distinction between ballad-writers and pamphleteers.

The balladists had untold influence in molding public opinion. Martin Parker's ballads were anathema to 15,000 London citizens. On December 11, 1640, "Alderman Pennington, with some hundreds following him, presented the Citizens' Petition, subscribed by 15,000 against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church." The petition itself was supported

CAVALIER AND PURITAN

The Royall Health to the Rising Sun.

To the tune of, *O my pretty little winking, &c.*

1 As I was walking forth one day,
I heard distressed people say,
Our Peace and Plenty now is gone,
And wee poore people quite undone:
A Royall Health I then begun[1]
Unto the rising of the Sun,
Gallant English Spirits
doe not thus complaine,
The Sun that sets
may after risé againe.[1]

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1. From Hyder E. Rollins, Cavalier and Puritan (New York, 1923).

by "A particular of the manifold Evils, Pressures, and Grievances caused, practised, and occasioned by the Prelates and their Dependants" of which Article VIII ran as follows:

> The swarminge of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-books, and Ballads, as namely, Ovids fits of Love, the Parliament of Women (which) came out at the dissolving of the last Parliament, Barnes Poems, Parkers Ballads in disgrace of Religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the Word of God, and other good Bookes.[6]

Poetical defenders of the episcopacy were dealt with in the Puritan The Popes Proclamation: Together With the Lawes and Ordinances established by him and his Shavelings (1641):

> 2. We appoynt John Taylor, Martin Parker, Herbert, and all three English Poeticall, Papisticall, Atheisticall Ballad makers, to put in print rime doggery from the river of Styx against the truest Protestants, railing lines and in the end young Gregory [illegible] Brandon, the hangman shall be their pay-master.

The disreputable Thomas Herbert was a Royalist ballad-maker, as his "Newes out of Islington" shows. Most of his fellow ballad-writers, says Rollins,[7] did rally to the support of the King. Of the ballad, "When the King Enjoys His Own Again," the Gossips Feast (1647) says, "Martin

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6. Rollins, op. cit., 15-16.

7. Ibid., 20.

Parker never got a fairer Brat." It appeared in 1643 and is universally admitted to have played no small part in keeping up the spirits of the Royalists and in bringing about the Restoration. From 1644 Parliament was unrelenting in its pursuit of composers and singers of reproachful (loyal) ballads. Pamphlets and ballads had to be registered and except for "The Lovely London Lass Long Lamenting for a Husband" (1647) and "The King's Last Farewell" (1649), no ballads were entered at Stationer's Hall from 1644 to 1656. William Web of Oxford is only one of many who continued uninterruptedly to print loyal ballads. One ballad professed to ring "The Parliament's Knell" and another ridiculed Sir John Presbyter and Sir Simon Synod. A Presbyterian printed a ballad against Rupert and Maurice, with no mention of Charles I.

According to Rollins:

> With the defeat and imprisonment of the King, it seemed as if ballad-printing as well as all other uncensored publication was doomed. The Long Parliament passed law after law to suppress tracts and ballads of malignant, or Royalist tendencies. Rigid surveillance of the press obtained; innumerable spies, or searchers, were hired. Sir Francis Wortley wrote a ballad beginning:
>
> Blesse the printer from the searcher,
> And from the houses takers!
> Blesse Tom from the slash; from Bridewel's lash,
> Blesse all poore ballad-makers! 8
> Those who have writ for the king, for the good king

8. Rollins, op. cit., 26.

On February 3, 1647, after the King's sequestration in the Isle of Wight, the House of Commons ordered the Lord Mayor of London and the Justices of Peace of the suburban towns to suppress ballad-singing and to punish all "ballad singers and such loose persons." Anonymous ballads then began appearing, like "Cromwells Panegyrick." In explaining the friends' of Parliament lack of gift for song, Sir Charles Firth has said "the poets were all on the King's side...the Puritan armies sang psalms rather than war songs."

Puritan efforts were unavailing in stamping out the "bootleg ballad." The innocent-sounding "The Maidens Merry Meeting" contained the "malignant" stanza:

A health to King Charles
to his Lords and his Earles,
Lord send him long for to reigne;
Prosper and guide him,
Let no ill betide him.
I hope for to see him againe boyes,
I hope for to see him againe.

In "A Coffin for King Charles: A Crowne for Cromwell; A Pit for the People," Cromwell declares:

Now Charles I is tumbled down
the second, I not feare;

but the reply of the people is ominous:

To our revenge knee deepe in gore
we would not feare to wade.

Two daring ballads are "The Royall Health to the Rising Sun" and "Gallant News from the Seas." Crouch, the licensed former Royalist balladist, in 1652 printed his "Democritus" as prose, in which the Puritan form concealed the poetical expression:

> So cold, cold, cold, so wonderous cold, and through the Bush the Winde blows cold; Where are our Coals ye young Knaves,old; for through the Bush the Winde blows cold? (But where be our great Fleets of Coals?) One Knave, two Knaves, three too old, and thorow the Bush the Winde blows cold: cold, cold, cold, and wonderous cold, and thorow the Bush the Winde blowes cold. 9

Even the discontent of Royalists at reaping no advantage from the Restoration is reflected in the ballad. Referring to the situation at court, it complains:

> But truly there are swarmes of those
> Who lately were our chiefest foes,
> Of pantaloons and muffes;
> Whilst the old rusty cavaleer,
> Retires or dares not once appear,
> For want of coyne and cuffes. 10

Ballads depicted Cromwell as a tyrant, Charles II as a king "sans peur et sans reproche." They played a large part in bringing about the Restoration, though they reaped little pecuniary reward for their authors.

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9. This might well pass for a traditional ballad by reason of its resemblance to the Lyke Wake Dirge.

10. Rollins, Cavalier and Puritan (New York, 1923), 74. See page 167, supra.

There is no doubt that the Puritans were opposed to ballads on principle; it would be a striking proof of the Cavalier theory if the survival of Royalist ballads in Virginia could be demonstrated. However, Royalist ballads had an appeal only in their peculiar political setting. We could hardly expect political ballads of the Civil War period of Englandés history to have survived by word of mouth in the foothills of Virginia in later generations of Cavalier families for whom the Stuarts had become a hazy memory. Political ballads have a way of dying quickly; hardly a Virginian today still repeats the once popular

> The funniest man I ever did see
> Was James K.Polk of Tennessee;
> He buttoned his vest o'ertop his coat,
> And pulled his breeches round his throat.

However, the old traditional ballads of England, those to be found in Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry and in the collection of Prof. Francis James Child are very slow to die. By repetition from generation to generation these ballads have survived in Virginia. Had the ancestors of Virginians been Puritans, the ballad would have died as it appears to have done in New England under Puritan rule.

Prof. Child established the fact that there are three hundred and five English and Scottish traditional ballads. According to Prof. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of Virginia, there were surviving in 1916 seventy-six of these

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ballads in the United States and eighty-five of them in Great Britain. In speaking of the search for the ballads, Prof. Smith said:

> In this national quest of the ballad the Southern states have been most active and most successful. "Greater progress during 1914," says Professor Read Smith in the Journal of American Folk Lore, volume XXVIII, April-June, 1915, "was made in the South, particularly in Virginia, than in any other section of the United States. Mr. Phillips Barry of Cambridge reports no additions for New England. Two Southern states, Georgia and Tennessee, make ballad returns for the first time this year. This brings the total of Southern states reporting up to eight." Of the three hundred and five ballads listed by Child, Tennessee reports eight as surviving through oral transmissions in her borders, Georgia nine, Texas ten, South Carolina thirteen, North Carolina nineteen, Missouri twenty, Kentucky twenty-four, and Virginia thirty-seven. To this list must be added now West Virginia, which with a folk-lore society founded as late as July, 1915, already reports twelve traditional ballads. With duplicates omitted this makes a total of forty-two traditional ballads in the Southern States out of the seventy-six found in the United States. Nearly half of those reported from the South have been collected in the last two years and seven of them - viz., John of Hazelgreen, Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, Robin Hood's Death, Robin Hood and Little John, Robin Hood and the Tanner, Robin Hood Rescuing Will Stutly, and Bessy Bell and Mary Gray - have as yet been found nowhere else in the United States. The five ballads most widely distributed in New England are The Elfin Knight, Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight, Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, Lord Lovel, Bonny Barbara Allen, and The Maid Freed from the Gallows. [11]

Dr. Smith and the Folk Lore Society made a sincere effort to eliminate from the lists every ballad that could be

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11. C. Alphonso Smith, "Ballads Surviving in the United States," Musical Quarterly (January, 1916), 2.

traced to a printed source; oral transmission would certainly appear to have been borne out by the substitution in Barbara Allen of "in Ohio" for "in the choir," which is found in the old English version as the burial site. It is interesting to compare:

Virginia version	English version
That Stutley he surprised was, In Aiken prison lay; /had hired Three varlets whom the king Did basely him betray.	That Will Stutley surprised /was And eke in prison lay; Three varlets that the sheriff had hired Did likely him betray.

In the words of Dr. Smith:

> This mutilation is evidence that the American variant harks back to a period when "eke" still had as in Chaucer's time the sound of modern "ache." It becomes, therefore, a valuable indication of age.[12]

The Mrs. Malaprop that no one has ever seen, but who is, nevertheless, responsible for these alterations in traditional ballads has to her credit the following:

"sprung a leap"	for	"sprung a leak"
"cast-iron gate"	for	"castle gate"
"fainting to lie down"	for	"fain to lie down"
"high-row comb"	for	"ivory comb"
"penny knife"	for	"pen knife"
"speed"	for	"steed"
"Linkum green"	for	"Lincoln green"
"in Ohio"	for	"in the choir"

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12. Smith, loc. cit., 5.

Her ignorance has made of Nebraska in a native American ballad the unintelligible "knee breast key." But after all, her ignorance is priceless, for it is ignorance of the written word, and not of the spoken sound, which she strives to repeat in parrot fashion, preserving dialect forms for decades after they have been lost in more familiar words.

Virginia settlers sang the old ballads and the negroes learned to love and sing them likewise. At Scottsville, Virginia, around the year 1888 the closing exercises of the negro school consisted of a theatrical pageant in which negroes young and old participated in the pageant of an execution on the scaffold, a dejected girl singing and the other actors reciting their parts. The play was the Virginia version of "The Hangman's Tree," a variant of the old traditional ballad, "The Maid Freed from the Gallows," which no doubt took a deep hold on the imagination of that race for whom today even the gallows retains its terror. In like manner, a negro mammy on a plantation near Montgomery, Alabama, is known to have recited the words of the ancient ballad, "Sir Hugh," or "Hugh of Lincoln," dating from 1274 when Leo of Lincoln forfeited land in the parish of St. Martin for the death of a crucified boy. [13]

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13. Smith, loc. cit., 16.

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The South is the land of ballads, and Virginia is the parent of the ballad states. Prof. Arthur Kyle Davis in his Traditional Ballads of Virginia (collected under the auspices of the Virginia Folk-Lore Society) has shown the persistence of fifty-one of the Child ballads in Virginia alone. In all, 650 poetical variants were found and 148 different tunes for the fifty-one ballads.[14] No state in the United States can match Virginia's record in the perpetuation of old English folk-music. The presence of the Cavaliers in Virginia accounts for the richness of balladry in the state.

What of New England? Did ballads survive in equal numbers where the Puritans held sway?

The introduction of James M. Carpenter to Miss Linscott's Folk Songs of Old New England[15] says of the book:

> And as you turn the pages, you will begin to realize how well she has succeeded in her aim. For here are tinkling fiddle tunes that have sent thousands of merry feet dancing down the rough pioneering paths of New England - despite lurking Redskin or Puritan divine. Here are nursery songs and singing games that you - and half the English-speaking world besides - have laid by with broken toy or faded doll. In brief, here are songs to suit almost every palate; semipopular songs, treasured up by past generations; comical songs; songs of the read-'em-and-weep variety; quaint old minstrels; lumbermen's songs; sea chanteys; songs with a strictly New England flavor - one can all but hear the Yankee nasal twang; and finally, a fair number of Child ballads, "the aristocrats of folk song."

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14. Arthur Kyle Davis, Traditional Ballads of Virginia (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), 629-30 (Appendix D).

15. Eloise Hubbard Linscott, Folk Songs of Old New England (New York, 1939), vii.

It is in these last that we are interested, inasmuch as they alone of the poems listed above can show continuity from seventeenth century England. What of the Child ballads in New England?

Eloise Linscott lists the following:

"The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington"
"Barb'ry Ellen or Barbara Allen"
"Blow, Ye Winds Blow, or the Elfin Knight"
"The Devil and the Farmer's Wife"
"Dirante, My Son, or Lord Randall"
"Gypsy Davy or Gypsy Daisy"
"Lord Lovell"
"The Rolling of the Stones, or The Twa Brothers"
"The Three Crows"

The "Bailiff's Daughter" is traced to an immigrant from Heywood, England, to Providence, R.I. in 1842. "Barbara Allen" is in the family of a descendant of Ralph Ellwood, who came on the "Truelove" from Salem, England, in September, 1635. The version of "The Elfin Knight" is too far removed from Child's to be recognizable. "The Devil and the Farmer's Wife" was traditional in the family of Henry Prescott of Hyde Park, Massachusetts. Whether they were Puritans or not does not appear; nor does the date of arrival of the immigrant. The version of "Lord Randall" is traced to David O'Killy of Ireland who came to North Harwich about the middle of the seventeenth century. The mother of Mrs. Slade of Fall River sang "Gypsy Daisy" around 1889. "Lord Lovell" was traditional in the family of a Mrs. Linscott of

Waldoboro, Maine. "The Twa Brothers," which is certainly far from the Child version, was in the family of Mrs. Harmon of Cambridge, Massachusetts. "The Three Crows," which is a fairly accurate version of "The Twa Corbies," was traditional in the Stuart family of Manchester, New Hampshire (probably Presbyterians from the Londonderry Settlement).

The survey of New England folk songs would make it appear that the Puritans effectively severed the continuity of the ballad in Massachusetts and that such ballads as have persisted are traceable to Irish, Scotch, or later English emigrants to New England. Ninety-four Child ballads are included in Barry's British Ballads from Maine, [16] but these would appear to be traceable to Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia sources, and not to Massachusetts. Jackson's Down-East Spirituals and Others reveals no Child ballads. [17] The New Green Mountain Songster [18] contains versions of "Hugh of Lincoln," "Little Musgrove and Lady Barnard," and "The Bayliffe's Daughter of Islington."

Vermont Folk Songs and Ballads [19] contains "Bold

16. Phillips Barry, Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, & Mary Winslow Smith, British Ballads from Maine (New Haven, 1929).
17. George Pullen Jackson, Down East Spirituals and Others (New York, 1943).
18. Helen Hartness Flanders, Elizabeth Flanders Ballard, George Brown, & Phillips Barry, The New Green Mountain Songster (New Haven, 1939).
19. Helen Hartness Flanders & George Brown, Vermont Folk Songs and Ballads (Brattleboro, 1932).

Robing Hood," "Three Black Crows," "The Outlandish Knight," "Scarborough Fair," "Lord Randal," "The King's Three Questions," "Lord Bakeman," "Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor," "Lady Margaret and Sweet William," "Lord Lovel," "Two Dukes," "Gypsy Davy," "The Wife Wrapped in the Wether's Skin," and "The Damsel from London."

A survey of these shows that Massachusetts influence never came in contact with these ballads. Some of the ballads in the book are traceable to Quebec, but most of them are immediately of Vermont and ultimately of English origin.

In spite of the large number of ballads that exist at the present time in New England, it is to be doubted whether the Maine ballads have all passed down from generation to generation. In Massachusetts the ballads have not been indigenous for three centuries as they have been in Virginia. The explanation is simple - Puritans and ballads did not mix.

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CHAPTER TWELVE - CONCLUSION: VIRGINIA THE CAVALIER STRONGHOLD AS A COUNTERBALANCE TO PURITAN NEW ENGLAND

In speaking of the immigration to Virginia during the period of Parliamentary rule John Fiske said that the great Cavalier exodus began with the King's execution in 1649 and probably slackened after 1660. He considered it a chief cause of the increase of the white population of Virginia from 15,000 in 1649 to 38,000 in 1670. [1] In meeting this assertion Prof. Wertenbaker said in 1910 that Fiske's conclusion was utterly unwarranted - that the population increase noted here was due chiefly to the stream of indentured servants that came to the colony at this period. When the so-called Cavalier immigration was at its height, said Wertenbaker, between 1,000 and 1,500 indentured servants were entering the colony each year. [2]

It is not necessary to deny the influx of indentured servants to show that Prof. Wertenbaker has put the cart before the horse. An indentured servant was nothing more or less than a person who, being unable to pay the costs of passage to America, bound himself for a term of years to a master who was willing to advance the costs of transportation. The losers in the Civil War were of all persons

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1. John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (2 vols), Boston, 1900), II, 13.

2. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910), 20. He has no less an authority than Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, for the annual immigration figure for indentured servants.

those who would be most likely to be broken in fortune. We have it from the pen of Col. Norwood himself that he and his fellow-passengers on the "Virginia Merchant" were hard put to it to raise the six pounds passage money and endured untold suffering, even cannibalism, before they arrived in Virginia. What could be more natural than to find that adherents of the King who had lost their estates and savings in the shipwreck of the royal cause were forced to forego for a time the privilege of being their own masters and to enter the employ of others more fortunate than they?

That there was no class connotation to the status of servant can readily be seen from the accusation of De Vries that the English were the most villainous persons he had met with, who would sell their own fathers into servitude. [3] It is a matter of record that 1,610 of the Worcester prisoners were ordered to Virginia as servants upon the Virginians' assurance to "give them Christian usage." [4] Whether these 1,610 prisoners actually came or not, it is clear that in the eyes of Englishmen colonial servitude might in some cases rest entirely upon a political basis.

The written record in connection with Worcester prisoners is positive proof that "the stream of indentured servants"

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3. David Pietersz. De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, A.D. 1632 to 1644. Translated by Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1853). In describing double-dealing, said De Vries, a common saying among Virginians was "He played him an English trick."
4. Mary Newton Stanard, The Story of Virginia's First Century (Philadelphia, 1928), 221. For the controversy centering about the 1,100 Dunbar and 1,610 Worcester prisoners destined for Virginia, see pages 112-113, supra.

cited by Wertenbaker to uphold his plebeian theory may well have been composed largely of persons who had once possessed standing but were forced down in the economic scale by the vicissitudes of internecine war. Although they worked for wages for a time, they soon emerged in the Old Dominion as their former respected selves, due not only to their innate ability, but also to the friendly help of their political brethren who had not been so unfortunate as they and had salvaged a substantial portion of their fortunes from the royal debacle. No doubt some of the prisoners in the Upper Bench Prison in custody on May 3, 1653, to the number of about 400, including many persons suspected of compounding their estates and almost all of whom were imprisoned after the outbreak of hostilities, eventually arrived in Virginia and helped to swell the exodus of colonists from the mother country. [5]

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5. A List of all the Prisoners in the Upper Bench Prison, Remaining in Custody the third of May, 1653. Delivered in by Sir John Lenthall to the Committee appointed by the Councell of State, for examining of the state of the said Prison, with the times of their first Commitment, and the causes of their Detention. And also the substance of the Propositions made by the Committee to the Prisoners, with their answer thereunto. Published for Information of all such as are concerned herein. By the appointment of the Committee, Coll: Thomas Pride. Coll: Tomlinson. Colll Cooper. Mr. John Fountaine. Mr. Richard Wollaston. Mr. Margets Judg Advocate. (London, Printed for Livewell Chapman, and are to be sold at his shop at the Crown in Popes-head Alley, 1653). This pamphlet contains twenty-one pages of prisoners whose surnames in many cases are frequently met with among Virginia immigrants, but whose Christian names seldom coincide with those of the latter.

As to the areas in England from which the immigrants to Virginia and New England came, Paullin's Historical Atlas[6] has shown rather clearly that the focus of origin of New England's population was East Anglia. Paullin's analysis of Virginia colonization is based on only 637 immigrants whose place of origin could be definitely stated. His figures fall too far short of even the 42,755 immigrants before 1667 to form a basis for any tenable conclusions. Paullin's figures fail to show the Southwest of England as the focus for colonization, just as Swem's do.[7] Devon and Gloucester appear as fruitful sources of colonists, but they fail to stack up with London or Essex, Kent, or Yorkshire for sheer numbers. The difficulty with Swem's figures is that they cover the eighteenth century as well as the seventeenth, and give families appearing only in the ancestry of Virginia immigrants. The fact that a given number of persons selected at random in the West would have exhibited then fewer surnames than an equal number in the East further detracts from the usefulness of Swem's figures. Also, the fact that a large element in the population of London under the Tudors and Stuarts was Southwest-born further distorts the true picture in favor of the East as the apparent focus of Virginia population.

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6. See Appendix XVIII.

7. See map, page 131, supra. For an analysis of Swem's figures see Appendices XIX and XX, which although they fail to reveal preponderance of migration from royalist shires, nevertheless, would seem to indicate that the emigration to Virginia was approximately 22% heavier from peripheral counties than from landlocked shires.

Studies of place names in Virginia and in New England reveal certain facts of interest: Virginia county names reveal more of East English than of West English origin; Virginia town and village names reveal more of West English than of East English origin; New England county names reveal more of East English than of West English origin; New England town names reveal far more of East English than of West English origin; Virginia place names reveal a large number of Welsh origin; New England place names reveal very few of Welsh origin. [8]

Berkeley Hundred, Denbigh Church, St. David's Church, Cornwall, and Truro Parish in Virginia show Gloucestershire, Welsh, and Cornish influence. Exhaustive search for local names in Virginia perpetuating the memory of the English Civil War has brought to light only the Fitzhugh estate, "Boscobel," the Randolph estate, "Edgehill," and possibly Nasbie Marston Church. The first Randolph is known to have lived in the vicinity of Edgehill in England, and the Albemarle estate of the name traces directly to the historic Warwickshire town. Probably the fact that so few places in Virginia bear names reminiscent of the English Civil War lies in the fact that so many of the place-names associated with it were localities where the Cavaliers were defeated: Turnham Green, Naseby, Marston Moor, Lostwithiel, Dunbar, Worcester, South Moulton - all were scenes of bitter memories for Cavaliers.

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8. See Appendices XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, and XXV.

A somewhat unreliable mode of approach if trusted too far, but one which offers intriguing possibilities for the anthropologist, is the study of hair colors in colonial Virginia and colonial New England. Philip Alexander Bruce states in his Social History [9] that the typical Cavalier was dark-visaged and black-haired. So far, so good. So was the typical Celtic inhabitant of West England, [10] the Devonian, the Cornishman, the Manxman, the Gloucestershireman, and the Welshman. What of individual Cavaliers? Sir Edward Herbert, first Lord Herbert of Chirbury, of a notable Cavalier family, was known in England as "the Black Lord Herbert" because of his swarthy complexion. Charles II and Prince Rupert, a Palatine on the paternal side, were both unusually dark. Examination of Virginia portraits included in Alexander W. Weddell's Virginia Historical Portraiture discloses the significant fact that brunettes, apparently always in the majority among Virginia upper classes(i.e., those who could afford to have portraits made), became increasingly so with the passage of time, giving rise to the inference that the Cavalier influx imparted a decidedly darker tint to the complexion of the population and swamped early colonists of light complexion. William Byrd II, "the Black Swan," Richard Lee, Evelyn Byrd, the Blairs, the Pages, the Carters, the Ludwells, the Lewises, the Nelsons, the Corbins, and the Tabbs

9. Philip A. Bruce, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (Richmond, 1907), 57.
10. See Appendix III for Parsons's chart showing concentration of dark hair in Wales and West England.

appear from their portraits to have been quite dark. Of course, it is possible that the artists drew the bust and hair of the subject in spare hours in winter, leaving the face to be painted in later on the canvas of the subject's choice. Artificial wigs and coiffures designed before the subject was even known would render nugatory any attempt to separate blondes from brunettes by means of portraits at this late date. However, no doubt the artists had selections of previously prepared canvases, some blond, some brunette, which would clear up the difficulty nicely - especially if prefabricated brunette canvases predominated increasingly with the passage of the years!

Fortunately we are not lacking in scientific studies of Old Virginians, i.e., individuals from 15 to 60 years of age whose parents and grandparents were born in Virginia. Dr. Robert Bennett Bean contributed four articles on Old Virginians to the American Journal of Physical Anthropology, edited by the late noted Dr. Aleš Hrdlička; the subjects of Dr. Bean's articles were stature, sitting height and leg length, cephalic index, and hair and eye colors. The conclusions were based on studies of 739 men and 889 women. 11

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11. Robert Bennett Bean, "Hair and Eye Colors in Old Virginians," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, XX (July - September, 1935), 171-204.

The conclusions of Dr. Bean from his study, following the techniques of Topinard, Beddoe (1904), Ripley (1909), Parsons (1920), Bardenflette (1929), and Hrdlička (1925), were as follows:

> The Old Virginians are not usually blond in hair color, but commonly medium to brunet, with slightly more blond and brunet among the women, and more medium shades among the men. The men seem to be more blended in hair color, the women more retentive of the ancestral shades. This conclusion is reached by Hrdlička in his study of Old Americans. [12]
>
> More Baltic peoples settled in the region around Michigan, and more Mediterranean peoples settled around the Gulf of Mexico, whereas Virginia has an intermediate mixture. It is just possible that personal selection may have drawn more people with light colored hair and eyes to the north and dark-colored to the south. [13]
>
> The combined index of pigmentation in Old Virginian men is 28.7, which is between that of Italy and Spain. [14]

The findings of Bean rather conclusively show that if we accept the research of Parsons on hair colors in the British Isles, then the origins of Virginia population are to be found in Western England, Wales, Ireland, and portions of Scotland.

What of the Puritans? Since the Cradle of Puritanism was the East Anglian region inhabited by Angles and Danes, we should expect the incidence of light hair and blue eyes

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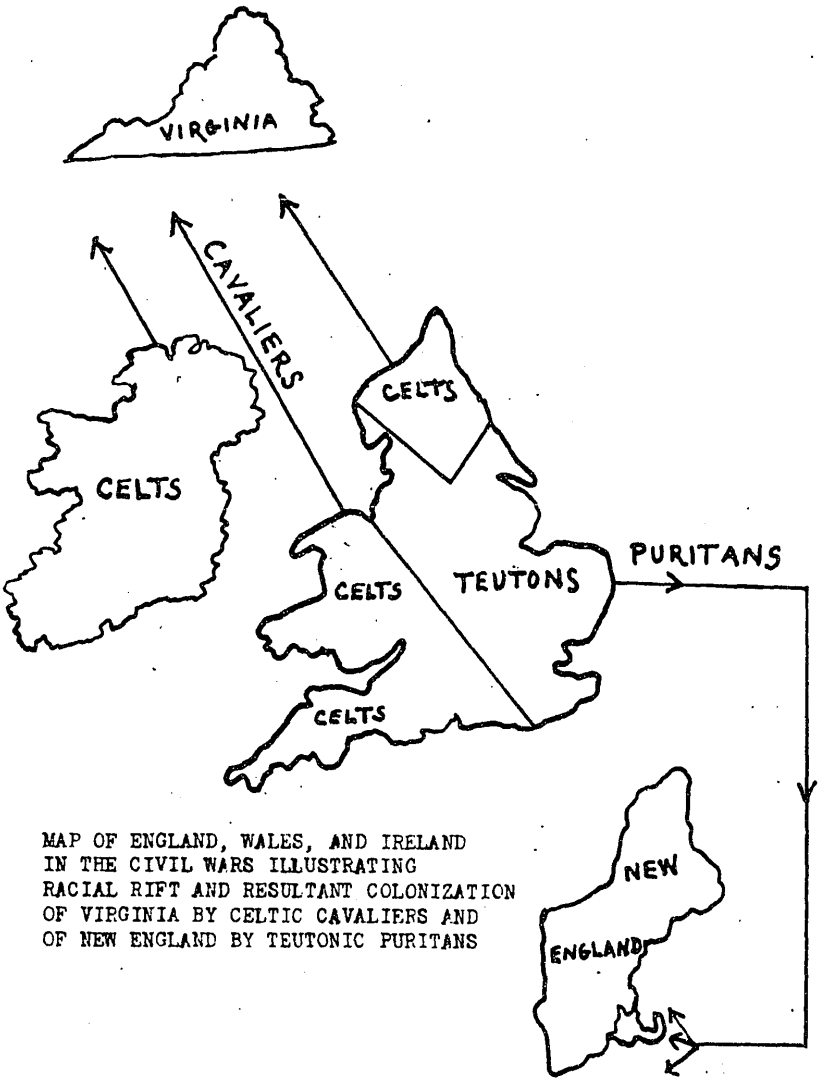
12. Robert Bennett Bean, "Hair and Eye Colors in Old Virginians," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, XX (July - September, 1935), 176.

13. Bean, loc. cit., 197.

14. Bean, loc. cit., 201. See Robert B. Bean, The Peopling of Virginia (Boston, 1938), 259, "The Old Virginians are distinctly brunet."



MAP OF ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND
IN THE CIVIL WARS ILLUSTRATING
RACIAL RIFT AND RESULTANT COLONIZATION
OF VIRGINIA BY CELTIC CAVALIERS AND
OF NEW ENGLAND BY TEUTONIC PURITANS

to be higher among English Puritans and New England colonists than among Virginia Cavaliers. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, father of the first Roundhead, was a blue-eyed blonde. John Milton, the immortal Puritan, was light, as was Col. John Hutchinson, Parliamentary Governor of Nottingham Castle.[15] Edward Winslow, sole Mayflower pilgrim whose likeness remains to us, Samuel Sewall, John Endicott, and the two Mathers, Cotton and Increase, appear to have all been blonds; on the other hand, John Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, and Cromwell's Ironsides appear to have been dark.[16] Inasmuch as the Pilgrims came from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, where Parsons's researches revealed predominantly light inhabitants, it is not surprising to find Winslow of light complexion. Such Puritans as were dark appear to have been, in large measure, members of the West English group from around Weymouth in Dorset.

Without making an exhaustive study of hair colors and complexions of Puritans and Cavaliers - a Herculean, if not an altogether impossible, task today - scanty

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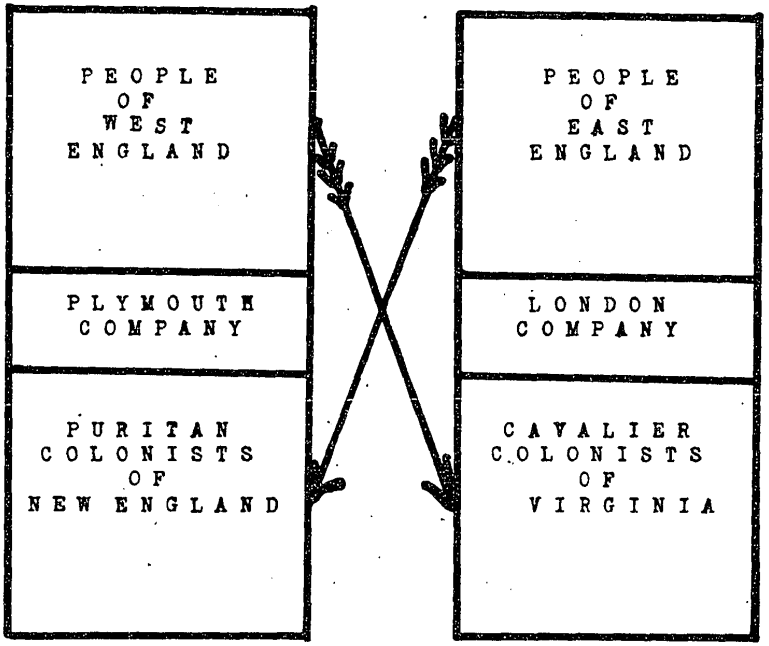
15. See page 20, <u>supra</u>.

16. Frank H. Hankins, <u>The Racial Basis of Civilization, a Critique of the Nordic Doctrine</u> (New York, 1926), 162, quoting Francis Galton, <u>Inquiries into Human Faculty</u> (London, 1883), 5.

traces left would support the generalization that Puritans were inclined to fairness and Cavaliers to darkness of hair and complexion. The comparative rarity of blond hair among Old Virginians whose families were unallied with foreign elements or Valley Germans would tend to bear out the Cavalier theory of Virginia settlement. In Virginia as in Western Europe, Macaulay's theory of the correlation between Teutonism and Protestantism would appear to be borne out, inasmuch as the Lutherans, Dunkers, Brethren, and Reformed Protestants of the Shenandoah Valley represented after the American Revolution dissenting elements of German origin seeking freedom from control by the established episcopacy.

In the chapters which precede the challenge to the Cavalier theory of Virginia colonization has been set forth. The economic, political, and social picture of seventeenth century England has been given attention, and the West has been shown to have been the center of sympathy for the King's cause. Virginia's people have been shown to have settled in America through the efforts of West Country merchants, gentry, and mariners, and they have been shown to have come to a large extent from the Southwest of England. Virginia's population from 1607 to 1700 has been surveyed in the light of statistics that remain to us to show that immigration figures incorporated in this study cannot be far afield from the truth. Correlation of land patent records, ship lists,



CROSS-CURRENTS IN COLONIZATION: AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY THE WESTERN PEOPLE WHO BACKED IT FILTERED INTO THE EXPERIMENT OF THE LONDON COMPANY, THE VIRGINIA COLONY, AND THE CIVIL DISSENSIONS IN ENGLAND RESULTED IN A MAJORITY OF EAST ENGLISH COLONISTS IN NEW ENGLAND AND A MAJORITY OF WEST ENGLISH COLONISTS IN VIRGINIA

and population figures discloses substantial consistency. The most significant population increase and the greatest immigration in the seventeenth century have been shown to coincide in the decade 1650-1660, when a large element of the population of England was broken economically and, according to Lord Macaulay, disappeared in England forever.[17] The number of English malefactors and North American pirates in the Virginia colony has been investigated and shown probably not to have exceeded one per cent of the population in the 1600's, warranting the conclusion that they were neither numerous nor influential. The Puritan strength in the colony has been noted and found to have been relatively insignificant. Numerous adherents of the King in England have been shown to have emigrated to Virginia in the crucial years of Cavalier exile during the Commonwealth and they have been shown to have played a considerable role in bringing further colonists across the sea. The Church of the Cavaliers has been shown to have stood firm and even flourished during the Commonwealth and Restoration periods. The dialect of Virginia, although not conclusively shown to have been that of the Southwest of England, may well have been just that, although Hugh Jones and others inclined to the view that London dialect was spoken in Virginia. The Puritan war upon

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17. Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (5 vols., Boston, 1861), I, 93.

the stage and frivolous songs and ballads in England has been shown not to have been felt in the Old Dominion as it was in New England, particularly in Massachusetts.

* * *

When John Locke devoted his first essay "Of Civil Government" to a refutation of Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarcha, it was said that he killed a dead horse. As for any theory that seeks to supplant the solid factual basis of Cavalier colonisation of Virginia

Requiescat in pace

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APPENDIX I - OPINIONS OF HISTORIANS ON NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF CAVALIER EXILES IN VIRGINIA

No Cavaliers	No mention of Cavaliers	Not many Cavaliers
S.R. Gardiner (1903) *	M.W. Jernegan (1929)	W.H. Whitmore (1864) (1864)
	C.M. Andrews (1937)	T.J. Wertenbaker (1910) V
	J.W. Wayland & R.M.S. MacDonald (1943) V	C.L. Becker (1915)
		H.U. Faulkner (1925)
		T.J. Wertenbaker (1927) V
		E.G. Hawk (1934)
		D. Wecter (1937)
		W.B. Hesseltine (1943)

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* signifies British historian

** signifies no mention of Cavaliers as exiles, but admits universal adherence of colony to the King's cause

V signifies Virginian-born

APPENDIX I (continued)

Some Cavaliers

H. Jones (1724) * V by adoption

M.T. Magill (1876)

A.C. McLaughlin (1899)

T.N. Page (1908) V

M. Johnston (1918) V

C.H. Willis & L.S. Saunders (1940) VV

Many Cavaliers

E. Hyde, Lord Clarendon (1670) *

R. Beverley ** (1705) V (1722) V

J.D. Burk (1805) I

F.L. Hawks (1836)

T.S. Arthur & W.H. Carpenter (1858)

H.C. Lodge (1881)

J.E. Cooke (1883) V

R.A. Brock (1884) V

J.A. Doyle (1889)

D.H. Maury (1896) V

J. Fiske (1897)

R.S. Smithey (1898) V

F.N. Thorpe (1901)

L.G. Tyler (1904) V

H.W. Elson (1905)

C. Firth * (1906)

"Thousands" of Cavaliers

R.G. Thwaites (1890)

S.G. Fisher (1898)

Woodrow Wilson (1901) V

B.W. Morse (1912)

M.P. Andrews (1937)

Many Cavaliers (cont.)

C.A. Beard & W.C. Bagley (1918)

J.H. Latané (1918) V

F.C. Montague (1920) *

J.W. Wayland (1920) V

H.G. Wells ** (1920)

E.B. Greene (1922)

N.N. Stanard (1928) V

J. Marriott (1930) *

O.P. Chitwood (1931)

C. Petrie * (1937)

I.M. Gast (1942)

N.C. Hockett (1940)

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* signifies British

** signifies no mention of Cavaliers as exiles but admits universal adherence to the King's cause

I signifies Irish-born Virginian by adoption

V signifies Virginian-born

APPENDIX II - CHART DEMONSTRATING APPROXIMATE TWO-TO-ONE PREDOMINANCE OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN ROYALISTS OVER SOUTHERN AND EASTERN ROYALISTS AMONG KNOWN SUPPORTERS OF KING CHARLES

Surname	Royalist Shire	Parliamentary Shire
Appleton		Kent
Ashburnham	Hampshire	Sussex
Astley		Norfolk
Aston		Middlesex, Chester
Bamfield	Devon	
Belasyse	Durham, York	
Bertie	Oxford	
Berkeley	Gloucester	
Boteler	Shropshire	
Bovile		Suffolk
Burley		Isle of Wight
Butler	(Ireland)	
Byron	Nottingham	
Campion		Sussex
Capel	Somerset	Essex
Carew	Cornwall, Devon	
Cavendish	Devon, Nottingham	
Carey	Devon, Somerset	
Challoner	York	
Chillingworth	Devon	
Chudleigh	Devon	
Clark	Devon	Kent
Colepeper		Kent
Compton	Gloucester, Hants, Northumberland, Somerset, Wilts	Northampton
Digby	Shropshire, Warwick	Rutland, War
Dives	Shropshire	Bedford
Dyer	Devon, Hereford, Somerset	Middlesex
Ennis	Cornwall	
Errington	Northumberland	
Farr	Hampshire	
Fortescue	Devon	
Gascoigne	(Florence) York	
Gerrard	Somerset	Middlesex
Glemham	Dorset	Suffolk
Godolphin	Cornwall	
Goring		Sussex
Greenvil	Cornwall	
Hamilton	(Scotland)	
Hampden		Buckingham
Fielding	Gloucester	Lancaster
Hassel		Lancaster
Hastings	Derby, Gloucester, Oxford, Somerset, York	Buckingham, Leicester, Lincoln

APPENDIX II (continued)

Surname	Royalist shire	Parliamentary shire
Herbert	Shropshire	
Hopton	Monmouth, Somerset	
Howard		Norfolk
Hurrey or Urrey		Isle of Wight
Killegrew	Cornwall, Devon	
King	(Scotland)	
Langdale	York	
Langhorn	Cornwall	Bedford
Ley	Devon, Oxford, Wilts	
Lisle	Gloucester, Hants	Isle of Wight
Littleton	Worcester	
Lucas	Cornwall, Durham	Suffolk
Lunsford		Sussex
Mauliverer	York	
Mohun	Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset	
Monroe	(Scotland)	
Montrose (Graham)	(Scotland)	
Mordaunt	Warwick	Kent, Norfolk
Musgrave	Cumberland, Westmorland, York	
Le Neve		Norfolk, Suffolk
Orilly	(Ireland)	
Pierrepont	Nottingham	
Powel	(Wales)	
Poyer	Monmouth	
Rich	Berks, Hants	Essex, Kent, Lancaster
Roxburgh (Ker)	(Scotland)	
Ruthven	(Scotland)	
St. John	Cornwall, Hants, Wilts	Bedford
Sandys	Cornwall, Worcester	Kent, Lancaster
Savile	Derby, Shropshire, York	
Sackville	Dorset	Essex, Suffolk
Shipman	Hereford, Nottingham	
Slanning	Devon	
Smith	.....	
Seymour,	Dorset, Gloucester, Somerset	
Stanley	Derby	
Stawel	Somerset	
Stradling	(Wales)	
Strode	Devon, Dorset, Somerset	
Strutt		Essex
Spencer	Devon, Oxford, Salop, York	Bedford, Cheshire, Herts, Kent

APPENDIX II (continued)

Surname	Royalist Shire	Parliamentary Shire
Stewart & Stuart	(Scotland)	
Sydney	Berks	Northampton
Tomkins	Hereford	
Trevanion	Cornwall	
Uvedal or Udall	Dorset, Hants, Somerset	
Vavasour	York	
Verney		Buckingham
Villiers		Leicester
Washington		Lancaster, Northampton
Watts	Cumberland	Northampton
Wentworth	York	
Widdrington	Northumberland	
Wilmot	Derby	
Windebank	Wilts	Kent
Wriothesley	Hants	
Yeoman	Gloucester, Somerset	
	113	54

APPENDIX III - EXAMINATION OF THE VALIDITY OF A RACIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR OF 1642

In the face of all the extravagant misstatements that have been perpetrated in the name of "race" it is only with the utmost caution that the would-be historian of human conflicts should advance theories tending to drive artificial wedges between fellow-sharers of the little globe on which all might dwell in peace. However, the inquiring mind ever seeks solutions for problems, and in the face of rival theories it inclines to that which appears to possess the soundest basis in fact. So much has been written to lend credence to the correctness of a racial interpretation of the Puritan Revolution and so little has been said in direct denial of such an interpretation, that it is proposed to set forth briefly the status and validity of that solution.

Vaughan, Hallam, Lingard, Alison, Warwick, Carlyle, Clarendon, May, Hutchinson, Ludlow, Bulstrode, and Buckle have emphasised the class or social aspects of the struggle. Green, Gardiner, Holland, Montague, Montgomery, Schevill, and Dietz, among others, have stressed the geographic split between the south-east and the north-west. Gardiner explains the geographic split in terms of economics - the richest part of England, the south-east, supporting Parliament and the poorer and more rugged north-west supporting the King. A.L. Smith rejects the class distinction as superficial and the

geographic interpretation as inadequate. He seeks to explain the Rebellion solely in terms of religion. The interesting fact is that none of the above explanations is inconsistent with a racial interpretation. The "class" party expresses the view that the upper classes supported the King and the lower classes the Parliament; since the Wars of the Roses had largely exterminated the old feudal nobility as a class, the new and rising aristocrats under the Tudors and Stuarts were Westerners, for the most part, of Celtic extraction. The geographic historians have fallen into the net of the racist, inasmuch as theWestern and Northern areas of the island, which held for the King, can be shown irrefutably to have been the refuge of the conquered Celtic inhabitants. The economic view in no way detracts from the racial interpretation, inasmuch as it was only natural that the Teutons in their conquest took unto themselves the richest part of the island, which, as it happened, lay athwart their path. Finally, one has only to subscribe to Lord Macaulay's plausible identification of religion with race in North Europe to accept A.L. Smith's religious interpretation as strikingly corroborative of a basic racial cleavage.

The above arguments need by no means to stand unsupported. The work of the British anthropologists Fleure, James, Beddoe, and Parsons, read in connection with the writings of the German

racists Heinrich Driesmans and Hans F. K. Günther and of the Americans Shane Leslie (the Celtophile) and Lothrop Stoddard (the Teutonist) supply abundant support for an out-and-out racial explanation of the English Civil War.

Heinrich Driesmans, the distinguished German writer about the turn of the twentieth century, makes the following observations under the heading, "Die englische Revolution als Rassenkampf":

> Von den Regierungen, welche auf Heinrich VIII. folgten, waren die beiden ersten, Edwards VI. und Maria der Blutigen, zu kurz, die dritte, Elisabeths, von zu glücklichen inneren und äusseren Umständen begleitet und zu massvoll-weise geleitet, als dass sie die schlummernden Rassenkonflikte hätte heraufbeschwören können. Vor allem war es eine Frau, von deren Händen die Nationen wie die Männer geduldig die grössten Unbilden und Misshandlungen hinnehmen, weil sich die einen wie die anderen in ihre Herrscherinnen zu verlieben pflegen. Allein unter den beiden folgenden Männerregierungen Jakobs I. und Karls I. brachen die verhaltenen Rasseninstinkte mit um so grösserer Gewalt gegen einander los. Karl I. verlor seinen Kopf wohl mit aus dem Grunde, weil er sich der parlamentarischen Regierungsform, dem Volkswillen, nicht fügen wollte, aber wesentlich deshalb, weil er ein Kelte war, weil er eine Rasse verkörperte und vertrat, welche der nüchtern-praktischen wuchtigen Breite des angelsächsischen Volkes wider die Natur ging. Andere Antipathieen, wie die alte Abneigung der Sachsen gegen die romanisch-normännischen Kavaliere, welche den Hofstaat und die herrschende Klasse zusammensetzten, mögen noch mit hinein gespielt haben. Die englische Revolution war ein Rassenkampf wie die französische, mit dem einzigen Unterschiede, dass dort das germanische, hier das keltische Element das revolutionierende war. Die Verfassungsstreitigkeiten, aus denen die englische Revolution hervorging, bildeten nur die äusseren Verkleidungsformen, in denen sich dieser Rassenkampf bewegte. Die wahre Triebfeder lag tiefer - den kämpfenden Parteien freilich unbewusst. Diese ist in den grundverschiedenen Weltanschauungen der angelsächsischen und keltischen Rasse

zu suchen, welche als Volks- und Hofpartei hier einander gegenüber standen. Der englische Verfassungsstreit des 17. Jahrhunderts ist daher als ein Befreiungskampf des angelsächsischen Stammes zu betrachten, der Jahrhunderte lang unter normännisch-keltischer Oberhoheit gestanden hatte. Indem das englische Volk sich das Parlament erkämpfte, setzte es seine Weltanschauung und seine Lebensart gegenüber dem aufgedrungenen Fremdwesen durch, erhob es sein ursprüngliches Angelsachsentum wieder zum ausschlaggebenden Faktor, zu einer Macht im öffentlichen Leben des Landes.[1]

In a footnote Driesmans observes that it is "certainly worth noticing" that in the struggles of the kingdom which finally cost Charles I his head, nobility and people in Wales stood in overwhelming majority on the King's side.

In like vein, Shane Leslie, the American Celtophile, states boldly:

> The underlying theme of English history is the conflict of Celt and Teuton.[2]

In considering the Civil War he says:

> The Cromwellian episode was religious, but it was also racial. It was the grimmest conflict between Celt and Teuton.[3]

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1. Heinrich Driesmans, Das Keltentum in der Europäischen Blutmischung (Leipzig, 1900), 40-41.

2. Shane Leslie, The Celt and the World (New York, 1917), 198.

3. Ibid., 175.

He quotes Bernard Holland to support his point of view:

> It is interesting to note that the line of division between Lancastrians and Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses, between the more Catholic regions and the more Protestant in the Tudor days, between the Royalists and the Puritans in the Civil Wars, and even between Radicals and Conservatives in the present time was much the same. On one side the North and West of England, including Wales; on the other the South and East and most of the Midlands. [4]

The modern science of anthropology is too new to be able to furnish us with contemporary statistics shedding light on the question of racio-geographic sectionalism in seventeenth century England. However, modern scientific research strikingly supports the thesis that in seventeenth century England the North and West were inhabited by Celts for the most part. The unreliable test of language shows a retention of Celtic tongues in the Western part of England, Cornish having died only in the eighteenth century and Welsh still being spoken. The more trustworthy scientific data relating to measurements of hair and eye color show clearly the continuance even into the twentieth century of racio-geographic sectionalism in England. Fleure and James, rejecting from their measurements all whose four grandparents had not lived in the same area, arrived at results given

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4. Leslie, op. cit., 198.

confirmation by Beddoe in 1904. F. C. Parsons in 1920 synthesized the work of Fleure, James, and Beddoe, adding measurements of his own. In all, 25,000 individuals were classified, and the conclusions reached by Parsons are as follows: In the North and East of England the indices of the hair and eyes are almost always very close, indicating preponderance of a pure Nordic strain, while in the West Country, Wales, the Scottish Highlands, and Ireland the high index of nigrescence is usually due to very dark hair accompanied by light eyes. Fifty per cent of dark eyes is rarely reached except in Wales. The work of Beddoe and Fleure, when carefully standardized and analyzed, will not support Prof. Keith's theory that the Mediterranean stock is not largely represented in many parts of the British Isles; neither will it support Madison Grant's theory that the modern Englishman is an equal mixture of Nordic and Mediterranean, or dark eyes would be more common. [5]

The average index of nigrescence, as determined by Parsons for England, is about 38. In this century the indices for the North, East, West, and London (as determined by Parsons) were 30, 36, 46, and 38 respectively. [6] No doubt

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5. F. C. Parsons, "The Colour Index of the British Isles," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (Lond. - June, 1920), L, 159-182, 277 and 279.

6. Subsidiary studies by the present author on migration trends within England from the time of Henry I to the reign of Charles I, coupled with known migration trends during the Industrial Revolution, help to explain these figures for the different sections.

the low index for the North, indicating a high percentage of blondness and blue eyes, is a misleading clue to the population of the area in the 1600's, due to the immigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the south-east into such industrial sections as the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was peopled earlier by darker elements. Figures for the extreme Western fringe of the North, Galloway for instance, show a high index of nigrescence, indicating, beyond question, the presence of descendants of old inhabitants of the Strath-Clyde Kingdom.

In Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset the index is uniformly high. In Gloucester, Hereford, Caermarthen, Brecon, and Abergavenny it is likewise high. It is low among Ipswich, Colchester, and Nottingham farmers, and only in north-east Northumberland is it lower than in the country around Boston, which furnished America its Puritans, according to Andrews.[7] The low index in Teesdale and Cumberland is probably due to Lowland Scottish infiltration and that of Whitby may still reflect early Danish colonization. In view of the low index in the North today, the figures of the anthropologists point unmistakably to a racial dividing line running roughly from Southampton to Liverpool. Hans F. K. Günther's map of Europe, "Hell und Dunkel"[8] as well as Madison Grant's

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7. See page 130, supra.

8. Hans F. K. Günther, Rassenkunde Europas (München, 1929), 146.

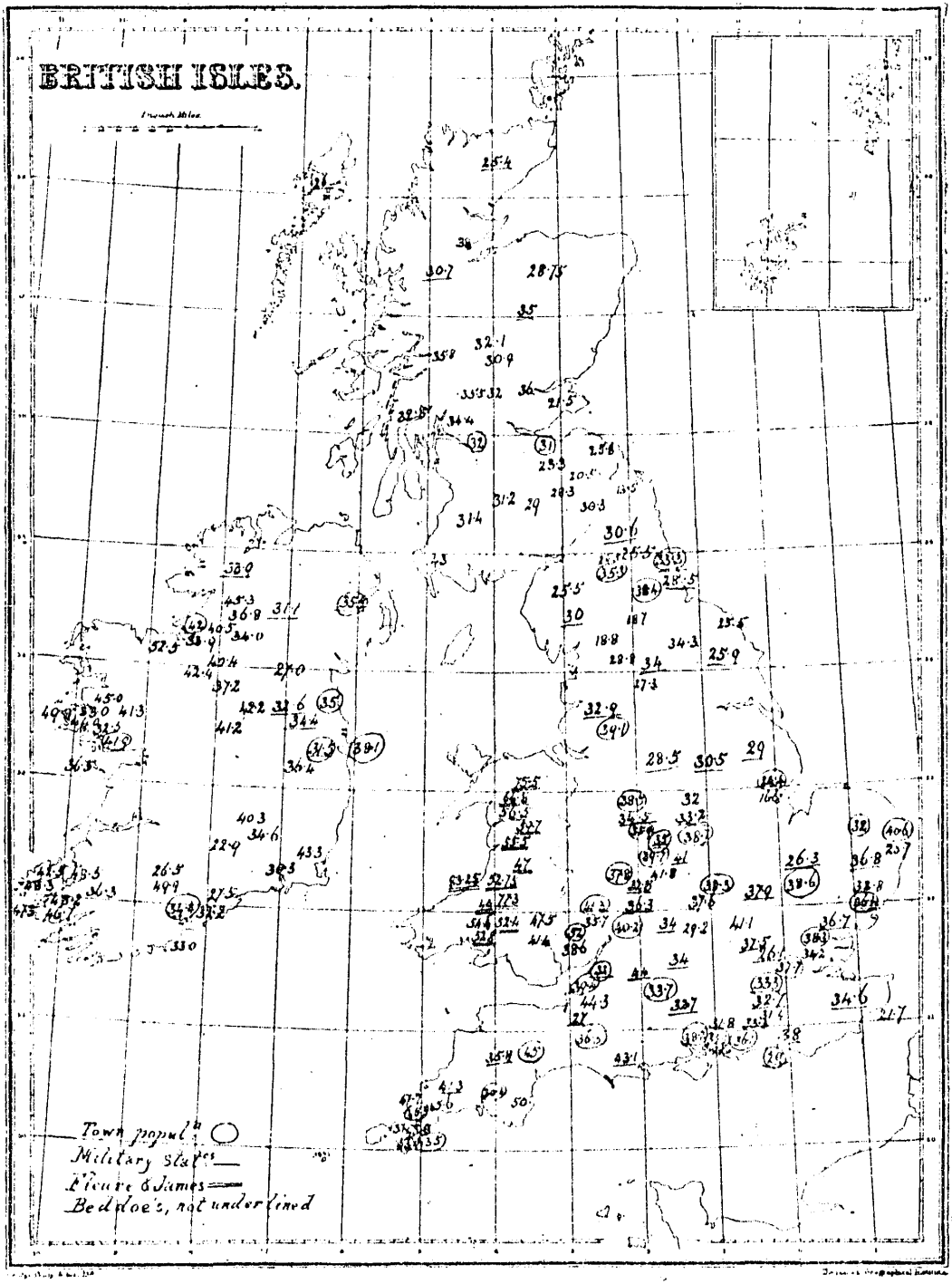

FIG. 7.—COLOUR INDICES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

From F. G. Parsons, "The Colour Index of the British Isles," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, L (Jan.- June, 1920).

"Present Distribution of European Races" [9] lends support to such an interpretation of the racio-geographic division in England.

9. Lothrop Stoddard, Racial Realities in Europe (New York, 1924), map facing page 6.

APPENDIX IV - LIST OF VOYAGES TO VIRGINIA WITH MANY PASSENGERS LISTED, 1607 - 1700

Arrival in Va.(A) Departure from England (D) Sailing for England (S)	Name of ship	Tonnage	Master	Number of Passengers
1606/7, 1 Jan.(D)	England; left London, 26 December 1606			
1607, 26 April(A)	'SARAH (SUSAN)	100	Capt. Christopher Newport	71
1607, 22 June (S)	CONSTANT' *			
			John Dod's	
		Possibly	John Dod's, his wife	
			John Laydon	
1606/7, 1 Jan. (D)	'GOODSPEED'or	40	Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold	52
1607, 26 Apr. (A)	'GODSPEED', a small vessel *			
1606/7, 1 Jan. (D)	'DISCOVERY',			
1607, 26 Apr. (A)	a pinnace *	20	Capt. John Ratcliffe	20
1607 (A?)	'GIFT OF GOD'		George Popham, Commander	
This ship must have gone to New England, and probably did not touch at Virginia; it was in England 15 December 1607.				
1607 (A) some say 1608 (D)	'MARY ANN MARGARET' or 'MARY & MARGARET'			
			Capt. Thomas Graves	
		Possibly	David Ellis	
1607, 6 Oct. (D) from Gravesend	'PHENIX' or 'PHOENIX'		Capt. Francis Nelson	70 (?)
1607,23 Oct. (D) from Falmouth	This trip is recorded for 1607; possibly should be 1608.		Nathaniell Causey	
		Possibly	Matthew Scrivener X	
1607, May (A)	'SEAVENTURE'			
			Josuah Chard	
			John Proctor	
		Possibly	Capt. William Pierce	
			George Graue	

* Indicates ships included in list of Edward D. Neill, "Notes on American History," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXX (1876), 415-416.

1607, 8 Oct. (D) from Gravesend 1607,23 Oct. (D) from Falmouth 1607/8, 2 Jan.(A) at Jamestown 1607/8, 8 Jan.(A) 1608, 10 Apr.(S)		'JOHN & FRANCIS'* owned by Sir Robert Mansell	Capt. Christopher Newport Possibly	50 Thomas Savage John Hall Gabriell Holland Rebecca Holland, his wife
1608	(A)	'DELIVERANCE'		Henery Bagwell Thomas Cosby
1608	(A)	'FAULCON' or 'FALCON'		Temperance, Lady Yeardley
1608	(A)	'HERCULES'	Possibly Land patents erroneously include	Michaell Batt William Julian
1608	(A)	'JOHN & FRANCIS' owned by Sir Robert Mansell (This trip is probably identical with the 1607 trip above).		
1608, 8 June	(A)	'MARY & JOHN' At Sagadahoc by 9 October 1608.		
1608, Sept.	(A)	'MARY (&) MARGARET'*	Capt. Christopher Newport Ann Burras Anne Laydon × Richard Taylor	60
1608	(A)	'PATIENCE'		Edward Waters
1608, April	(A)	'PHOENIX' *	Capt. Nelson	70
1608	(A)	'STAR' or 'STARR' (Sir Thomas Dale's ship)	Possibly	Francis Chapman Phettiplace Close Hugh Haward Thomas Cage John Price William Price William Sharp

1608 (A) 'SWAN'
Robert Wright

1608 (A) 'WILLIAM & THOMAS'
Susan Hall

1609, 1 or 2 June (D) from Plymouth
1609, 8 June (D) from Falmouth
Fleet of 9 vessels of Gates & Somers

1609, June (D) 'BLESSINGE' * Capt. Gabriel Archer 20 women
1609, August (A) Capt. Adams, Master & children
Arrived with 3 other ships at Jamestown early in August
Probably Robert Partin
Mrs. Joane Smith, wife of Roger
Mrs. Jone Pierce, wife of William.

1609, 2 June (D) Catch Matthew Fitch, Master
(went down at sea?)

1609, (D) 'DELIVERANCE'
1609 (A) Sir George Yeardley, Knt.

1609, July (A) 'DISCOVERY' * Capt. R. Tindall, also 0
(fishing for Thomas Sedan and Capt.
1610, 19 June (S) sturgeon in Argall
under Capt. Va., June, 1610)
Saml. Argoll

1609, August (A) 'DIAMOND' * Capt. Ratcliffe and Capt.
(a ship of W. Fing
Gates & Somers's fleet; arrived in Virginia after the 'Blessing'; on the return trip it was wrecked at Ushant late in November, 1609; only one survived.

1609, August (A) 'FALCON' * Capt. Martin; Nelson, Master

1609 'HALF MOON'
On August 2, 12, or 28, 1609, Hendrik Hudson passed the King's River in Virginia, but did not enter; by November 7, Hudson was at Dartmouth, Devon.

1609 (A) 'Hercules' of Ry
Reynold Booth
John Chaundler
William Julian
Possibly Michael Batt

1609 (A) 'JONATHAN'
William Baker

1609 (A) 'LYON' Captain Webb
1609, 14 Oct. (S)
Thomasine, wife of Nathaniell Causey

1609 (A) 'PATIENCE'
Elizabeth Joones

1609, 18 June (D) 'SEAVENTURE' or 'SEA ADVENTURE' Capt. Newport
Wrecked in the Bermuda or Somers Islands, 28 July 1609, with 150 to 160 persons including:
Sir Thomas Gates
Sir George Somers
Captain Newport

1609, Aug. (A) 'SWALLOW' * Captain Moone &
1610, Jan. (S) Master Somers
John Powell
Arrived in Virginia after the 'Diamond' and remained in Virginia, 14 October 1609; of the 28 or 30 persons aboard her, some became pirates and others returned to England. The 'Swallow' was back in England in May, 1610, and it probably returned to Va. in June or December, 1610.

1609 (A) 'SWAN' of Barnstaple
Thomas Gates

1609, Aug. (A) 'UNITIE' Capt. Wood & 70
1609, 14 Oct. (S) Pett, Master
Probably Lieutenant Edward Harkley

1609, Aug. (A) 'VIRGINIA' Capt. Davies &
Master Davies
The chief shipwright of this ship was one Digby of London; she was a pinnace built in 1607 at Sagadahoc by the Popham colonists, who after Popham's death left with a vessel from Exeter for England; the 'Virginia' had been to England in 1608; she was about to leave Va. on 6 June 161

1610, 6 June (A) 'BLESSING' of Plimmouth * 50
1610, 1 Apr. (D)
Brown says this ship arrived in September, 1610; she was a ship of Lord Delaware's fleet, from Cowes to Virginia.
Sir Ferdinando Wenman
Possibly Mrs. Joane Smith, wife of Roge
Mrs. Jone Pierce, wife of Wm.

1610, June (D) 'DAINTY' * 13
1610, Oct. (A)
Brown says this ship arrived in December, 1610; she had left England with 20 men and a year's provision for the colony, but was back in England by January, 1611.

1610,1 Apr. (D) 'DELAWARE' * Robert Tindall, Master 50
1610, 5-6 June (A)
Ship of Lord Delaware's fleet; came to Virginia from Cowes Richard Kingsmell

1610, 21-23 May(A) 'DELIVERANCE' 70 100
Built in the Bermudas by Richard Frobisher along with the 'Patience' following the 'Seaventure' wreck, and brought with sister-ship and 100 colonists by Gates & Somers; together the 'Deliverance' and the 'Patience' brought 140 colonists.

1610 (A) 'GODSPEED'
William Coxe

1610, 1 Apr. (D) 'HERCULES' of Ry * 50
1610, 6 June (A)
Ship of Lord Delaware's fleet from Gowes; Brown says it arrived in September, 1610
Possibly Micheell Batt

1610 (A) Ship of Francisco Maguel, an Irishman from Puerto Rico, who reported to King of Spain.

1610 (A) 'MARY & JAMES'
Richard Boulton
Oliver Jinkines
Allexand' Mountney
Capt. William Tucker
Possibly William Vincene
Joane, wife of William Vincene

1610 (A) 'MARY & MARGARET'
Capt. Francis West

1610, August (A) 'NOAH'
Henery Coltman

1610, 21-23 May (A) 'PATIENCE' * 30 Sir George Somers & Edward Waters
Built in the Bermudas and brought by Gates and Somers with sister-ship, the 'Deliverance' and 140 colonists; left Jamestown 19 June 1610 for the Somers Islands (Bermuda) and arrived there in 1610. Left for England 19 June 1610 along with 'Discovery'; in July Capt. Matthew Somers arrived in England with the body of Sir George Somers on the 'Patience'.

1610, May (A) 'PROSPEROUS'
William Askew
William Daley
Mihell Wilcockes
Thomas Willoby
Possibly John Carter
John Ellison
Thomas Harris

1610 'SEAVENTURE'

John Lytefoote

Land patents erroneously give this ship, which was wrecked in 1609; the interpretation probably is that Lytefoote came out of England in this ship and did not reach Virginia until 1610.

1610 (A) 'STAR'

John Blore
Isaack Chaplaine
John Gundrie
William Morgan
Miles Prickett

1610, June or December (D) 'SWALLOW'

See entry under 1609

1610, Aug. (A) 'SWAN'

Richard Bigg's
Thomas Bouldinge
John Fludd
Thomas Garnett
Sisley Jordan
Albiano Lupo
Thomas Stepney
John Taylor
Amyte Waine, wife of John
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocke
Robert Paramour
James Robesonn
John Stone

1610, Aug. (A) 'TYTALL'

Thomas Chapman
Elizabeth Dunthorne
Robert Greenleafe
James Sleight
Possibly Hugh Baldwine

1611, May (A) 'ELIZABETH' *

Ship of Dale's fleet, probably sent to England in July, 1611

Robert Fisher
John Smith or Smyth

1610, December (S) 'HERCULES' *
1611, April (A) Possibly Michaell Batt
1611, 25 May (S)

1611 (A) 'JOHN & FRANCIS'
Owned by Sir Robert Mansell — John Downeman, Mr. Robert Salford

1611, May (A) 'MARY & JAMES' *
Ship of Dale's fleet, which brought in all 300 men
Possibly — William Vincene, Joane Vincene, his wife

1611, May (A) 'PROSPEROUS'
Ship of Dale's fleet; Brown thinks she left Virginia in September for England and arrived there in October, 1611.
Possibly — John Carter, John Ellison, Thomas Harris

1611 (A) 'CANA'
Possibly — Thomas Sully, William Spencer

1611 (A) A Spanish caravel at Old Point Comfort which left 3 of its crew, including the spy, Diego de Molina

1611, August (A) 'STAR' * 260 tons, 24 guns Capt. Newport
Ship of Gates's fleet, back in London in Dec., 1611
John Poole, Robert Poole, Robert Poole, Jr., John Smith
Possibly — Hugh Haward, Thomas Cage, John Price, William Price, William Sharp

1611, August (A) 'SWAN' *
Ship of Gates's fleet.
Possibly — Walter Blake, Jone, wife of Henery Crocker, Robert Faramour, James Robesonn, John Stone

1611, August (A) Three Carvills *
Ships of Gates's fleet

1611, August (A) 'TRIAL' *
1612,22 Apr. (S)
Ship of Gates's fleet; Percy returned to England in her.

1612, Sept. 'DELIVERANCE' was still in Virginia, according to Sir Samuell Argoll

1612 (A) 'ELIZABETH'
Farrar (Pharaoh) Flinton
Possibly Joane Flinton, his wife

1612, 27 Feb. (D)'JOHN & FRANCIS' A small ship with few men
1612 (A) Owned by Sir
Robert Mansell
Possibly back in England by September, 1612.
Possibly John Hall
Gabriell Holland
Rebecca, wife of Gabriell Holland

1612 (A) 'PLOUGH' (doubtful)
A ship reached England from Virginia in September, 1612, and it was not certain to Brown whether it was the 'John & Francis', the 'Sarah', or the 'Plough' returning from the Bermudas, via Virginia; the 'Plough' had gone to the Bermudas from England on 7 May 1611.

1612 (A) 'SARAH' *
A small ship with supplies, probably in England by September, 1612.

1612, 17 Sept.(A) 'TREASURER' * Capt. Argoll 50
1612, 23 July (D) Possibly Robert Aston
1613, soon after Robert Lince
28 June (S) John Virgo
Susan Virgo, wife of John
Thomas Watt's

1612/3 (A) An Adviso left Bermuda with settlers 30
for Virginia in December, 1612.

1613 'LA LA WARR'
Trip doubtful, as ship was sold ante 1 Novr.1613

1613, 14 Oct.(D) 'ELIZABETH' * Captain Adams 13
1613, winter (A) This ship arrived in England from Virginia on 20 July 1613 and on 14 October 1613 she departed for Virginia via the Bermudas bearing silkworms for the colony.

1612, 27 Feb.(D) 'JOHN & FRANCIS' 20
1613 (A)
Francis Mason
Possibly John Hall
Ship owned by Sir Robert Mansell
Gabriell Holland
Rebecca, wife of Gabriell Holland

1613 (A) 'ELIZABETH'
Made two trips in one year

1612, 23 July(D) 'TREASURER'
1613, Febr. (A)
1613, July-Aug(A)
1613, 1 Decr.(A)
Between the arrival of this ship in February and her return to Jamestown in July-Aug., she left and destroyed the Jesuit colony on Mount Desert, returning in July or August with a captured (French?) pinnace; she left again about September 1613 for Mount Desert and returned to Jamestown about 1 December 1613.
John Claye
Joseph Cobb
Susan, wife of John Collins
John Hatton
Thomas Lane
Christopher Safford
Henery Williams
Possibly Angelo, "a negro woman"
Robert Aston
Robert Lince
John Virgo
Susan Virgo, his wife
Thomas Watt's

1613/14, March (S) 'ELIZABETH'
Left for England with Sir Thomas Gates and the Sieur de la Motte; she arrived in England April-May, 1614.

1614 (A) 'ELIZABETH'
This was probably the second trip in one year; the second mention

1614 (A) 'TREASURER'

Possibly
Theophilus Bereston or Beriato
Angelo, a "negro woman"
Robert Aston
Robert Lince
John Virgo
Susan Virgo, his wife
Thomas Watt's

1615, summer (A) 'FLYING HART' or 'FLYING HORSE' of Flushing
Returned from Virginia to Portsmouth, England, with tobacco, and was at Portsmouth, 30 Sept. 1615.

1615 (A) 'JOHN & FRANCIS'* 20

Possibly
Henery Turner
John Hall
Gabriell Holland
Rebecca, wife of Gabriell Holland

1615, Michaelmas (A) 'SUSAN'

Possibly
William Burditt
Elnor, wife of Geo. Graue
John Graue, their son
Jane, wife of Richard Kingsmell
Rebecca Snow
Sara Snow
Morten Wright

1615	(A)	'TREASURER' *		20
1616, spring	(S)	Sir Thomas Dale left Virginia in this ship		
		This ship left Virginia in the spring of 1616 with Pocahontas and Indians for England and reached Plymouth the last of May, 1616.		
			Possibly	Angelo, a "negro woman"
				Robert Aston
				Robert Lince
				John Virgo
				Susan Virgo, his wife
				Thomas Watt's
1616	(A)	'CHARLES'		
			Possibly	William Parker
				William Hartley
				Roger Ruce
1616	(A)	'HENRY'	Capt. George Sargar(?).	
				Clement Evand's
				Nicholas Hodgskinee
			Possibly	William Richardson
1616	(A)	'GEORGE'		
				William Gany
				John Higgins
				Elizabeth Lupo (wife of Albiano Lupo)
				John Galford
				Thomas Spilman
				Thomas Thornebury
				Richard Tonge
			Possibly	Wm. Sink's & wife Ann
				Robert Chauntrie
				Robert Fitt
				Thomas Grubb /wood
				Grace, wife Thos. Har-
				Susan, " Hugh Haward
				Jefferey Hull /ret
				Wm. Kemp & wife Marga
				Ann, wife Robt. Marshal
				Robert Marshall
				Robert Martin
				Thos. Passmore & wife Jane
				Dr. John Pott
				Mrs. Elizabeth Pott
				Richd. Tree & son John
				Ann, wife Percivall Wood
				Percivall Wood

1616 (A) 'MARYGOLD'

Susan Old, cousin of Richd. Bigg's
Thomas Turner, cousin of Richd. Bigg
Possibly Mrs. Thomas Almutt
John Cranich
Henery Crocker
Alice, wife of Thomas Hitchcock
Thomas Hitchcock

1616 (A) 'PROVIDENCE'

Cornelius Maye
Bartholomew Wethersbie

1616, Oct. (A) 'SUSAN'
Brought the "first Magazin"; came laden with supplies according to Neill

John Banum
Francis Cole
Mr. Abraham Piersey
Thomas Sparkes
Possibly Elnor, wife of George Graue
John Graue, their son
Jane, wife of Richard Kingsmell
Rebecca Snow
Sara Snow
Horton Wright

1616 (A) 'HYALL'

Thomas Farmer

1617 (A) A Carvel with 12 men was sent from Bermuda to Virginia.

1617, May (A) 'EDWIN' Capt. George Hargrave
Roger Lewis
Possibly William Richardson

1617 (A) 'FAULCON'

Thomasin Sanster

1617, May (A) 'GEORGE' * 100

Some say this ship arrived in April, when there were only 100 in all in the colony; it brought Gov. Argall and Rev. Keith

Mary, wife of William Baley
Richard Ball
Chene or Chyna Boyse
Anthoney Burroes
Susan Bush
Ann, wife of Thomas Chapman
Elizabeth Clements
Elizabeth Clements
Ezechiel Clements
Jeremiah Clements
Nicholas Clements
John Davies
Martin Demon
Dorothy Greene
Jeffery Hall or Hull
John Hayes
Joane Jinkins
Mr. George Keth
John Keth
James Knott
Jenkin Osborn
Margot.; wife of Robert Partin
John Slater
John Slaughter (same as "Slater"?)
James Whitinge

Possibly

William Bink's & wife Ann
Robert Chauntrie
Robert Fitt
Thomas Grubb
Grace, wife of Thomas Harwood
Susan, wife of Hugh Hayard
Jefferey Hull (see above)
William Kemp & wife, Margaret
Ann, wife of Robert Marshall
Robert Marshall
Robert Martin
Thomas Passmore & wife Jane
Dr. John Pott
Mrs. Elizabeth Pott
Richard Tree & son, John
Ann, wife of Percivall Wood
Percivall Wood

1617 (Kingsbury erroneously lists a ship, the 'LYZARD', lost sight of on 10 April 1617; this "Lysard" was not a ship, but Lizard Head (Cerinium Promontorium) in Cornwall, on the way out from Plymouth.

1617 Pinnace owned by Capt. Martin *

1617 (A) 'TREASURER'

William Andros
John Cooper
William Gainye
John Shippey
Possibly Angelo, a "negro woman"
Robert Aston
Robert Lince
John Virgo
Susan Virgo, wife of John Virgo
Thomas Watt's

1618 (A) 'BONA NOVA'

Thomas Hopson
William Walters
Possibly 21 or 24 others

1618 (A) 'DIANA' * 60
Arrived in Virginia with 60 persons between December, 1618, and the following Michaelmas.

William Deane
Thoman Flint
Arthure Goldsmith
Colloman Greene
William Hutchinson
Grace Waters
Possibly Thomas Jorden
George Prouse
Thomas Swinhow
Henery Woodward
Jane, wife of Henery Woodward

1618, May (A) 'DUTY'

Thomas Williams
Possibly Robert Bew
Henery Booth
Lawley Damport
Robert Whitmore

1618 (A) 'SPAIN' Capt. George Bargrave
Probably same voyage as 1617.
Robert Brittin
Possibly William Richardson

1618 (A) 'ELINOR'

1618, April(A) 'GEORGE' *
Joane Fairchild
Nicolas Granger
Marie Gundrie
Stephen Reede
Joane Winscomb
Possibly William Bink's & wife Ann
Robert Chauntrie
Robert Fitt
Thomas Grubb
Grace, wife of Thomas Harwood
Susan, wife of Hugh Howard
Jefferey Hull
William Kemp & wife, Margaret
Ann, wife of Robert Marshall
Robert Marshall
Robert Martin
Thomas Passmore & wife, Jane
Dr. John Pott
Mrs. Elisabeth Pott
Richard Tree & son, John
Ann, wife of Percivall Wood
Percivall Wood

1618 (A) 'GIFT'
Richard Dolphinbe
Rice Howe
Apphia Scott (wife of Walter?)
Joane Yonge
Possibly Thomas Alnutt
Margery, wife of Thomas Benett
John Davies
Hugh Hughs
Nathaniell Jeffreys
John Root

1618 (A) 'GIFT OF GOD' or 'GODSGIFT'

1618 (A) '[illegible]'
Walter Scott
Possibly Michael Batt

1618 (A) Mr. Lawn's Ship 100
Arrived in Virginia with 100 persons between December, 1618, and the following Michaelmas.

1618 (A) 'MARYGOLD' or 'MARRIGOLD'
Sarah, wife of Richard Biggs
Robart Browne
Niccolas Davis
John Wilkines
Possibly Mrs. Thomas Alnutt
John Cranich
Henery Crocker
Alice, wife of Thomas Hitchcock
Thomas Hitchcock

1618, Spring (D) 'NEPTUNE' * 200
1618, August (A) Lord Delaware died on the passage over.
Christopher Beane
Thomas Bennett
Amias Bolte
John Bush
William Cole
Walter Couper
Heyhurst
Mathew Edlow or Edlow
Richard Evand's
William Ferrar
Elizabeth Garnett
John Hewes
Percivall Ibbottson or Ibottson
Sarah Julian (wife of William?)
Lyving
Francis Mitchell
Robert Newman
Ann, wife of Thomas Osge
Edward Parrey
Thomas Pawlett (Capt.)
Robart Sweete
John Waine
Probably Richard Fine
Thomas Parker
Elizabeth, wife of Richard Pierce
Richard Pierce
William Raymont

1618 (A) John Powntis his ship 50
Arrived in Virginia with 50 persons between December, 1618 and the following Michaelmas.

1618 (A) 'SAMPSON' *
Edward Drewe
William Emerson
Thomas Powell
William Smith
Danniell Tanner

1618, Apr. (2)
1618 (A) 'TREASURER' * Capt. Elfred
Governor Argall was part-owner of this ship; some indicate it was licensed by the Duke of Savoy, but quaere whether this was not the Flemish ship from which the 'Treasurer' obtained negroes. She did not return to England until May, 1619.
Tobias Hurst
Mary Maddison
Probably Katherine Leyden
Possibly Angelo, a "negro woman"
Robert Aston
Robert Lince
John Virgo
Susan Virgo, wife of John
Thomas Watt's

1618 (A) 'TRIALL'
Gregory Spicer
Possibly Hugh Baldwine

1618, Jan. (A) 'WILLIAM & JOHN'
Hugh Price
Possibly Capt. Robert Felgate, son & 4 servants
Mordecay Knight

1618, Jan. (A) 'WILLIAM & THOMAS' 150
Probably arrived in January, 1618/9, and is hence listed by Neill in 1619.

1615, Aug. 7th (A) 'PHILIP & THOMAS'

Henry Broughton
William Davis
William Done or Dove
Susan Hall (also given as arriving in 1608, probably an error)
John Hazard
William Kemp
Thomas Phillipes
Hugh Price
Robert Reddinge
Phillipp Roper
John Throgmorton
Symon Turgis
Susan, wife of Henery Williams
Probably or Possibly
Elizabeth, wife of Anthony Baram
Capt. William Spes
George Prior
Joseph Johnson
Peeter Langman
Samuell March
Robert Okley
Walter Price
Joseph Ryale
John Watson

1619 Eight ships set out from England with 871 passengers and four more with 390 passengers, all bound for Virginia.

1619, Aug. (B) 'BONA NOVA' * 200 120
1619, Nov. (A) Brought Rev. Jonas Stockton and 120 colonists.
William Barry
John Brock
Thomas Calder
John Claxon
Mr. Hugh Crowder
Stephen Dickson
Wm. Evand's
Thomas Gaskoyne
Robert Goodman
Joseph Hattfild
Francis Hill
Edward Robson
David Mansfield
John Morris
Lt. Thomas Osborne
Ralph Osborne
Adam Rimwell
Wm. Rookines
Cutbert Seirson
Daniell Sherley
Susanna, wife of John Smith
John Vaghan
William Weldon Christ. Wynwill
Possibly 24 others

1619 A Ship of Bristol 80 45
Sent in September, 1619, to Virginia with 45 colonists.

1619, May-June (A) 'BROTHER JONATHAN' 200
Undoubtedly identical with 'Jonathan' below, which brought men and maids for wives.

1619 (A) 'DIANA'
Cesar Puggett
Edward Threnorden

1619, Jan. (D) 'DUTY' 70 Capt. John Damyron 51
1619, May (A) Henrie Gany
Thomas Hatch
William Nicholl's
Edward Yates
Possibly Robert Sew
Henery Booth
Lawley Damport or Lamport
Robert Whitmore

1619, May (A) 'SUSAN' * Geo. Barger, Captain 30
Capt. George Dargrave
Arrived between December, 1618, and the following Michaelmas. Luke Boyse
Hugh Hilton

1619 (A) 'GILLIANOR' *
A swift pinnace in which Argall secretly escaped.

1619, Feb. (D) 'FALCON' 150 36
John Inman
Nicholas Peirse

1619, June (D) 'GARLAND' 250 or 25 tons 45
1619, Aug. (D?)
Arrived in Virginia after having been detained in the Somers Islands, where it had arrived November, 1619, after 17 weeks out.

1619, May (A). '[illegible]' * 100

William Gerrett
Humfrey Kent
Ann Highill
Ann, wife of Roger Ratliffe
Roger Ratliffe
Thomas Powell
William Strange
Nathaniell Tatam
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Threnorden
Alice Wad
Hester Wheeler
John Woodson
Sarah Woodson, wife of John
Possibly William Binke & wife, Ann
Robert Chauntrie
Robert Fitt
Thomas Grubb
Grace, wife of Thomas Harwood
Susan, wife of Hugh Haward
Jefferey Hull
William Kemp & wife, Margaret
Ann, wife of Robert Marshall
Robert Marshall
Robert Martin
Thomas Passmore & wife, Jane
Dr. John Pott
Mrs. Elizabeth Pott
Richard Tree & son, John
Ann, wife of Percivall Wood
Percivall Wood

1619, Apr. (A) 'GIFT' or 'GWIFT' *
Fourteen died on the voyage and Sir J. Wolstenholme made a motion to repay the loss sustained.

Elizabeth Bush
Elizabeth Bush
Mary Bush
Governor Sir George Yeardley
Possibly Thomas Almutt
Margery, wife of Thomas Benett
John Davies
Hugh Hughs
Nathaniell Jeffreys
John Root

1619 (A) 'GILIFLOWER'
This trip is probable, as Bermuda records indicate that the 'Giliflower' arrived probably from Virginia in 1619 and left for Newfoundland.

1619, Feb. (D) 'JOHANNA' 350 200
James Brookes
Walter Cooper
Nicholas Chapman
Walter Cooper (2 of name?)
Richard Frisbie
Idye Halliers
John Mathewman
Alice Peppett
John Washborne
Possibly William Bullock
Arthure Chandler
Richard Downes
Henery Dowtie
Ester Sherife
Edward Fisher
Elizabeth, wife of Revell Norcock
Revell Norcock
William Nutch
Isbell Pratt
Thomas Rose
William Ward
Francis Wilton

1619, 15 or 16 Sept. (D) 'MARGARET OF BRISTOL' 45 35
1619, 20 Nov. (A) (Point Comfort)
1619, 30 Nov. (A) (Keeketan)
1619, 14 Dec. (A) (Jamestown)
Owned by Edward Williams and financed by Sir William Throkemorton of Clowerwall, Gloucestershire; departed from Kingroad in England. There embarked in her:
John Woodliffe, gent. and 38 others.

1619, May (A) 'MARIGOLD' *
William Benge
John Cones
Robert Edmund's
John Evans or Evens
Thomas Doughtie
Jane Hill
Marmaduke Hill
John Parsons
Judith, wife of Ruth Price
Rebecca Rose
John Tyos (probably in 'Bona Nova')

1619, March (D) 'MERCHANT OF LONDON' * 300 200
or 'LONDON MERCHANT'
Robart Ball
Robert Fernall
Henery Pinke
Possibly Edward Bourblcth Richard Atkins
Christopher Branch
Mary Branch
Thomas Branch
Isbell, wife of Richard Bridgwatter
Richard Bridgwatter
Joseph Crew
Samuell Culley
Ursula, wife of George Frier
Susan, wife of John Hall
Margrett, wife of Thomas Jones
Thomas Jones
John Milnhouse
Theodore Moyses
Ann Potter
Richard Smith
Henery Turner

1619 'NEW YEAR'S GIFT'
Ship sold to Earl of Warwick, and probably never came to Virginia

1619, June (A) 'MARGARET' *
Thomas Keie
Possibly John Carter
John Ellison
Unlikely Thomas Harris

1619 (A) 'SAMPSON'
James Blackborne
John Harlow
William Hunnes
Nicholas Tumerfild
Henrie Wilson
Henrie Wilson (2 of name?)

1619 (A) 'SEAFLOWER'
Arrived in Bermuda in 1619 bound for Virginia and brought a preacher to Bermuda.

1619, Feb. (D) 'SILVER FAULDON', a pinnace owned by Lord Zouch
Lord Zouch and others proposed in Feb., 1619, to send
Capt. Andrews in the 'Silver Fauldon' to Virginia with
settlers and John Penner, Gent., Master and Henry Bacon,
Master; Brown thinks it went to Virginia.

1619, 5July (D) 'STURGEON'
Departed from England in company with the 'Triall'.

1619 (A) 'SUPPLY'
John Gibb's, partner of Christopher
Lafford
Possibly Thomas Baugh

1619, March (D) 'SWAN OF SAMPTHILL' 100 71
Robert Guy
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocker
Robert Paramour
James Robeson
John Stone

1619 (A) 'TRYALLANCE'
Came from Newfoundland
Richard Evans from New Found Land

1619, Feb. (D) 'TRYALL' # 200 40
1619, June (A)
Did not sail from England until April, according to
one authority. Arrived in Va. in June, says Neill.

1619, 31 Aug.(A) Dutch man of war described as a privateer
commissioned by the Duke of Savoy; consort of the
'Treasurer'. 160 tons; Captain Jope. By some called
a Flemish vessel from the West Indies. Brought "20
negars."

1619, Sept. (A) 'TREASURER' Capt. Daniel Elfreth
Arrived in Virginia from Bermuda in the West Indies,
whither she had gone from Virginia and spent six weeks
of the winter.
Possibly Angelo, "a negro woman"
Robert Aston
Robert Lince
John Virgo
Susan Virgo, his wife
Thomas Watt's

1619, March (A) 'DELIVERANCE & THOMAS' * 50?
Probably the vessel in which Blackwell and other Puritans came; left Virginia before July 30, 1619, in company with the 'Gyft' and the 'Diana'. 180 embarked in England for Virginia and 130 died on the voyage.
Possibly Elizabeth, wife of Anthony Baram
Capt. William Apes
George Frier
Joseph Johnson
Peeter Langman
Darnell March
Joseph Ryale
John Watson

1620, Feb. (A) 'ABIGAIL' or 'ABIGAILS' 350 330
Elizabeth Arrundell
Richard Arrundell
Walter Beare
Susan Blackwood
Henery Crocker
Thomas Crosse
Reinould Godwin
Olive Hatton (wife of John?)
Thomas Leister
Robert Penn
Thomas Pritchard
Capt. Roger Smith
Roger Stanley
Richard Townshend
John Tryc
Charles Waller
Thomas Wilson
Possibly Abigail, wife of Richard Atkins
William Baker
Henery Bradford
Anthony Baram
Thomas Doughtie
Ann, wife of Robert Fitt
John Hasley
Hugh Hughs
John Jackson
Margrett, wife of Joseph Johnson
Samuell Morris
Laurance Smalepage
Thomas Smith

1620, April (B) 'JOHN/[illegible]' or 250 153
1620, Aug. (A) 'FRANCIS JOHN[illegible]'

Henery Benson
Nicholas Blackman
Thomas Harvey
Robert Hollan
Thomas Perree
Robert Milner
Ann, wife of John Price
Mr. David Sand's, Minister
Elizabeth, wife of William Sharp
Elizabeth Tiler
William Tiler
Possibly Thomas Blanck's
Mr. Edward Blaney
Francis Butler
Henery Elwood
Mr. William Harwood
Niccolas Hartue (Washington's ancestor)
George Nelson
Elisabeth, wife of George Onion
George Onion
Thomas Osborn
Christopher Ripping
William Shawshaw
Richard Sanders
John Smith
John Vty
Alice Watkins
Griffin Winne

1620, Aug. (D) 'SONA NOVA' 200 120
Record identical to 1619 record is of doubtful accuracy; however, several names are given as arriving on this ship in 1620:

Elizabeth Banum, wife of John
Walter Barrett
Edward Bryane
Raleigh Crowshaw, wife, & servant
Gregorie Dorie (& wife?)
Richard Davis
Anna Gany
William Gayne
Thomas Hall
William Hampton
John Hill
Alice Lane
Elias Longe
John More
Lenord Mountney
Maudlin Mitchell
Robart Penrise

William Pilkington
Richard Popeley
Richard Robinson
Mary Salford
Osmond Smith
Hanna Spilman, wife of Thos?
Jonas Stockton
Timothey Stockton
Robert Thrasher
John Tyos
Edward White
Capt. John Willcockes
Probably M. Bernardo & wife
Jane Long
Margaret Pilkington
M. Vincencio
Possibly 21 others.

1620, Spring (D) 'DUTY' 70 Capt. John Damyron
1620, May (A)
Arrived at James City, 25 May, 1620; departed 11 June;
1620, 13 June(S) Record of 50 boys resembles 1619 record.
Christopher Browne
Henery Carman
James Chambers
Thomas Cornish

1620, August (D) 'ELIZABETH' 40 20
Abraham Avelin
Arthur Avelin
Thomas Barnett

1620, May or July (A) 'FALCON' 150 Capt. Jones 36
Thomas Steed

1620 (A) 'GEORGE'
Richard Aldon
Thomas Cruet
John Gatter
Randall Holt
Robert Lathom
Mrs. Elizabeth Pott
Dr. John Pott
John Southern
Hugh Wing
Thomas Wood

Possibly William Bink's & wife, Ann
Robert Chauntrie
Robert Fitt
Thomas Grubb
Grace, wife of Thomas Harwood
Susan, wife of Hugh Haward
Jefferey Hull
William Kemp & wife, Margaret
Ann, wife of Robert Marshall
Robert Marshall
Robert Martin
Thomas Passmore & wife, Jane
Dr. John Pott
Mrs. Elizabeth Pott
Richard Tree & son, John
Ann, wife of Percivall Wood
Percivall Wood

1620, Spring (O) 'FRANCIS DONA VENTURE' * 240 151
1620, Novr. (A)
Henery Benson (arrived in August)
Nicholas Blackman (arrived in August)
Thomas Cawsey
Robert Hollam (arrived in August)
Thomas Herres
Robert Milner (arrived in August)
Ann, wife of John Price (arrived in August)
Mr. David Sand's, Minister
Elizabeth, wife of Wm. Sharp (arrived in Aug.)
Elizabeth Tiler
William Tiler
Possibly Thomas Blanck's
Mr. Edward Blaney
Francis Butler
Henery Elwood
Mr. William Harwood
Niccolas Martue (Washington's ancestor)
George Nelson
Elizabeth, wife of George Onion
George Onion
Thomas Osborn
Christopher Ripping
William Ramshaw
Richard Saunders or Sanders
John Smith
John Uty or Vty
Rice Watkins
Griffin Winne

1620, Spring (D) 'JONATHAN' * Capt. Thompson 184
1620, May (A)
The contract for bringing wives for colonists was entered into with Capt. Thompson on December 11, 1619, but contrary to the statements in most history books, the first ship bringing wives sent by the company, the 'Jonathan', did not arrive in Virginia in 1619, but rather in 1620. Itanchored at James City, 27 May 1620; departed for England 9 June 1620.

Edward Auborn
Nicholas Baly
John Barnett
Sisley, wife of Allexander Bradway
Richard Davis
Susan, wife of Robert Greenleafe
Temporance Hodgskines
Henery King
John Passeman
John Washborne
William Weston
Richard Vause
Possibly William Bullock
Arthure Chandler
Richard Downes
Honery Dowtie
Ester Sderife
Edward Fisher
Elizabeth, wife of Revoll Morcock
Revoll Morcock
William Mutch
Isbell Pratt
Thomas Rose
William Ward
Francis Wilton

1620, 27 May (A) 'LONDON MERCHANT' * 300 Capt. Shaw 199
Brought maids for wives; one person of 200 died on voyage.

John Barnabie
Francis Blore
Ann, wife of Henery Coltman (arrived in May)
Silin Cooke (arrived in June, 1620)
Danniell Cugley
John Day
Mrs. Day
Elizabeth Hayden
Peeter Jorden
Alice Longe (wife of Richard?)
Mary Peeters (arrived in May)
Richard Richards
Maudlyn Sully
Dorothy, wife of Richard Taylor (arrived May)
Roger Thompson (and Ann, his wife?)
Dorythie Wethersbie
Mary Rowe

Possibly Richard Attkins
Edward Bourbicth
Christopher Branch
Mary Branch
Thomas (Branch?)
Isbell, wife of Richard Bridgwatter
Richard Bridgwatter
Joseph Crew
Samuell Culley
Ursula, wife of George Frier
Susan, wife of John Hall
Margrett, wife of Thomas Jones
Thomas Jones (?)
John Milnhouse
Theodore Moyses
Ann Potter
Richard Smith
Henery Turner (perhaps 2 of the name)

1620, Decr. (D) 'MARGARET & JOHN' 150 85
William Branlin
Jerimiah Dickinson
Thomas Dunthorne
Elizabeth, a servant of Thomas Harris
Theodore Joones
Edward Minetrene
Richard Mintrene
William Morton
Larence Peale
Peeter, a servant
Abraham Wood
Possibly Margrett, wife of David Ellis
Allen Keniston
Walgrave Mark's
John Nowell

1620, Aug. (D) 'MAYFLOWER' or 'MAY-FLOWER' 140 100

1620, Sept. 16 (D) 'SUPPLY' or 80 William Tracy, 45
1620, January (A) 'SUPPLIE' of Bristow Master, of Gloucestershire
John Collins
Frances Finch, daughter of Margett Fludd
Margett, wife of John Fludd
Georg Hall
George Hull (same as above?)
Richard Milton
Allexander Bradway
Thomas Sheppey
Mrs. Francis West
Possibly Thomas Baugh

1620, Spring (D) 'SWAN OF BARNSTAPLE' 100 70
None died on the trip; Neill gives 71 passengers.
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocker
Robert Paramour
James Robesonn
John Stone

1620 (A) 'TEMPERANCE'
Georg Deverill
Thomas Dunn
Richard Gregory
Anthony Jones
Thomas Philduct
Elizabeth Stone
Maximillian Stone
Maximillian Stone, Jr.
William Strachey
George Whitehand
Ann Willis

1620, May (A) 'TRIAL' * 200 Capt. Edmonds 40
Henrie Wheeler
Christopher Woodward
Possibly Hugh Baldwine

1620 (A) 'WARWICK'
Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Gates
Possibly Ellin, wife of Michaell Batt
Elizabeth Bygrave
Sarah, wife of Edward Fisher
Ann Jackson, wife of John Jackson
John Jackson
Edward Kildale, son of Sarah Fisher
Margaret Raughton, wife of Ezekhiel
Clare Ren
John Steephens
Ann, wife of John Stoak's
John Stoak's
Humphrey Walden
Thomas Ward

1621 (A) 'ABIGAIL' or 'ABIGALL'

John Arndell
Margrett Arrundell
Peter Arundell
Richard Atkins
Anthonie Bonall
John Browning
Margrett Fowler
William Fowler
John Gibbes
Joane Hampton
Ralph Hoode
William Joyce
Samuell Kennell
Alice Lauckfild (wife of John?)
Elias Legardo
Edward Marshall
Thomas Moreland
Edward Johnson
Capt; Roger Smith
Niccolas Wessell
Edward Wigge
Elizabeth Pope

Possibly
Abigall, wife of Richard Atkins
William Baker
Henery Bradford
Anthony Barem
Thomas Doughtie
Ann, wife of Robert Fitt
John Hasley
Ann, wife of Hugh Hughs
Hugh Hughs
John Jackson
Elizabeth Hodges
Margrett, wife of Joseph Johnson
Robert Lapworth
Samuell Norris
Lawrance Smalepage
John Smith
Thomas Smith

1621 (A) 'ADAM' or 'ADDAM' *
John Bate
Peeter Collins

1621, Novr. (D) 'BONA NOVA' * 200 50
1621, April (A)

John Browne (arrived in April)
James Dore
William Hampton (and Joane, his wife?)
Wife or servant of Edward Johnson
John Lanckfild
Nicholas Smith

Possibly
Robert Addams
Francis Barrett
Thomas Benett
William Browinge
Robert Campion
Thomas Crouch
Nathaniel Floid
John Jefferson
Thomas Jonas
Augustine Leak
Thomas Marloe
Leonard Moore
Thomas Ottowell
Thomas Phillip's
Ezekiah Raughton
George Rogers
John Russell (2 of name?)
John Shelley
Osmond Smith
William Walters

1621 'CHARITIE'
This ship undoubtedly arrived in 1622 and not 1621.

1621, July (D) 'CHARLES' *
1621, Novr. (A)

John Bainham
Niccolas Browne
Randall Crew
William Feild
Thomas Hand
John Holy (arrived in November)
William Lusam
Robert Manuell(arrived in November)
Peter Montecue (Washington's ancestor)
William Parker
Adam Thorogood
Daniell Wattking

Probably
William Hartley
Roger Ruce

1621, August (D) 'CONCORD' * 160
Left England for Somers Islands and Neill says it came to Virginia; apparently it left Virginia in March.
Elizabeth Willcockes

1621, Novr. (D) 'DARLING'
Left for a fishing voyage to America and probably never touched at Virginia, though it may have.

1621 (A) 'DUTY' *
Possibly Henery Booth
Robert Dew
Lawley Damport or Lamport
Robert Whitmore

1621, Novr. (D) 'DISCOVERY'
1621, March, O.S. (A)
William Dawson
Roger Preston

1621, May (D) 'ELIANOR' * 30 or 40 tons Capt. Wm. Tucker 10
1621, Dec.23(A) or 'ELLONOR'
A pinnace, which left England, May, 1621. This ship is erroneously referred to as the 'ELLINS', as revealed by the name of Strenght Shere, a passenger:
Pascoe Champion
Strenght Shere

1621 (A) 'ELIZABETH'
Came from Newfoundland.
Roger Farbmase
Richard Pullipen, from Newfound Land
Bryan Rogers
Nicholas Rowe
Robert Savadge
John Walton
John Ward

1621, August (D) 'FLYING HART' * 200 Capt. Cornelius Johnson 60-80

Her captain was a Dutchman and she brought Daniel Gookin's cattle from Ireland and Irish passengers.

Phillip Chapman
John Chisman
John Curtis
Thomas Curtis
William Foockes
Joane Godby (wife of Thomas?)
Rise Griffin
Elizabeth Ibbottson
Anthonie Ibsworth
Robert Morgan
Peeter Sherwood
William Smith
William Wadsworth
Gilbert Whitfild
Possibly Kathren Powell, wife of John (?)

1621 'FORTUNE'

Sailed from England to Plymouth and would appear not to have been a Virginia ship, except that one record indicates it brought to Virginia:

William Bassett

1621, July (D) 'GEORGE' * 160 120
1621, Oct. (A)

Returned from Virginia to England in 1622.

George Bailife
Rosamus Carter
Christopher Cooke
John Daney
Henrie Draper
Edward Eastwood
John Edward's
Margrett Epes
William Harris
Randolph Holt
Phoebus Hopkins
Robert Latchett
Phillip Lupo
John Milward
Thomas Popkin
Allis, wife of John Proctor
Thomas Purfry
Ruth
Mr. Georg Sandis, Esq.
Robert Sheaperd
Edward Smith
William Soane
John Spark's
John Stone

Nicholas Tompson
Martin Turner (2 of name?)
Sir Francis Wyatt
Perregrin Watkines
Hugh Wynn
Possibly William Wink's & wife, Ann
Robert Chauntrie
Robert Fitt
Thomas Grubb
Grace, wife of Thomas Harwood
Susan, wife of Hugh Haward
Jefferey Hull
William Kemp & wife, Margaret
Ann, wife of Robert Marshall
Robert Marshall
Robert Martin
Thomas Passmore & wife, Jane
Dr. John Pott
Elizabeth Pott (Mrs. John)
Richard Tree & son, John
Ann, wife of Percivall Wood
Percivall Wood

1621, Oct. 24 (D) 'GODHELP'
Departed for Virginia shortly after October 24.

1621, Novr. (D) 'HOPEWELL' 60 20
Possibly John Buckmaster
John Hacker
Thomas Kerfitt
Samuell Parson
William Sawier
Robert Sheppeard

1621 (A) 'JAMES'
Antonio, a "Negro"
William Bedford
Russell Webling
Possibly Steephen Barker
Also " Richard Appleton
John Bamford
Ivie Banton
John Chaplaine
Mary, wife of Isack Chaplaine
John Duffill
Richard English
Laurance Evans
Thomas Hawkins
Robert Hudson
Rev. Greville Pooley
William Popleton
Nicholas Sutton
Henory Thorne

without permission

1621, May (D) 'JOSEPH' 150 100
Sent by London Company to Somers Islands; probably never reached Virginia, though it may have.

1621 (A) 'LONDON MERCHANT'
John Sipps
Possibly Richard Attkins
Edward Bourbicth
Christopher Branch
Mary Branch
Thomas (Branch?)
Isbell, wife of Richard Bridgwatter
Richard Bridgwatter
Joseph Crew
Samuell Culley
Ursula, wife of George Frier
Susan, wife of John Hall
Margrett, wife of Thomas Jones
Thomas Jones (?)
John Milnhouse
Theodore Moyses
Ann Potter
Richard Smith
Henery Turner (perhaps 2 of the name).

1620, Decr. (D) 'MARGARET & JOHN' * 85
1621 (A) The passengers may have been from Scotland.
Zachary Cripp's
William Dugloe
John Ellatt
John Haney
John Home
Elizabeth, wife of Samuell Sharpe
Possibly Margrett, wife of David Ellis
Allen Keniston
Walgrave Mark's
John Nowell

In March 1621, the 'MARGARET & JOHN' was in a severe battle with two Spanish men-of-war. She is referred to as the 'BLACK HOUSE'.

1621, July (D) 'MARMADUKE' * Captain John Dennis 80
1621, Novr. (A)
She brought 12 maids for wives on board; the remainder of 68 were men. Returned from Virginia and was in Ireland on February 27, 1621.

Ambrose, a servant
Ann, wife of Nicholas Baly
Lewis Bayley
Francis Chamberlin
Ann, wife of Thomas Doughtie
Katherine, wife of Robert Fisher (arrived October
Adria Harris, wife of Thomas (arrived November)
Roger Macker
Ann Mason
Bennett Pulle
William Querke
John Skinner
Thomas Worthall
Richard Wrost
Possibly Edward Cadge

1621 (A) 'PROVIDENCE'
Daniel Gookin's ship, the 'Providence', arrived at Kecoughtan in 1621.

1621, Aug. (D) 'SNAPDRAGON' * 140 120
1621, Feb. (A)

William Arnall
Jane Barkley (Mrs. Jane Barkley) (?)
Mr. William Benet (Rev. W. Bennett)
Capt. Ralph Hamor
Elizabeth Phillips
Ann Savage (wife of Thomas?)
Hannah Savadge (same as above?)
Edward Sparshott
Possibly Jane Barkley (Mrs. Jane Barkley) (see above)
Sarah, wife of John Chew
Francis Gibbe
Thomas Powell
Elkinton Ratliffe
Elizabeth Salter
Sisley, wife of John Stone
Ann, wife of John Uty
John, son of John Uty

1621 (or 1629) The Spanish Fregat (see 1629)

1621, Jan. (A) 'SUPPLY' *
This trip must be the same as the trip previously listed with arrival in January, 1620.
John Collins
Frances Finch, daughter of Margett Fludd
Margett, wife of John Fludd
Georg Hall
George Hull (same as above?)
Richard Milton
Allexander Bradway
Thomas Sheppey
Mrs. Francis West
Possibly Thomas Baugh

1621 (A) 'SWAN'
Undoubtedly the "barck of Barnstable", which left Bermuda for Virginia, 2 December 1621.
William Bibbie (may have come in 1620)
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocker
Robert Paramour
James Robesonn
John Stone

1621, July (D) 'TEMPERANCE' * 80 50
1621, Decr.(A)
John Bradford
Richard Broadshaw
William Brooke
William Chelmedge
George Deverell
Rich. Gregory
Thomas Harris
Thomas Harn
Peter Mason
John Moyer
Thomas Newson
John Penny
John Phillipps
Thomas Powis
Henry Rowen
Henery Rowinge (same as Henry Rowen?)
Philipp Smith
Elizabeth Stone
Maximillian Stone
Nathaniell Thomas (2 of same name?)
Jon. Wray
George Whitehand

1621, August (D) 'TYGER' * 40 40
1621, Mid-Sept (D)
1622, January (A)

A pinnace, captured and released by the Turks in Caicos Islands with substitution of a French and an Irish youth for two English youths.

Mrs. Richard Atkins
George Gurr
William Haynes, Jr.
Joane Kent, wife of Humfrey Kent
Thomas Knowler
William Morris
John Needham
John Pipps
Peeter Porter (progenitor of thousands)
Joane Palmer, wife of Thomas Palmer
Prisilla Palmer, daughter of Thomas & Joane
Thomas Palmer
William Right
William Smith
Henry Wood
Possibly Jeremy White

1621, August (D) 'WARWICK' * 160 Captain Guy 100
1621, mid-Sept. (D)
1621, 20 Decr. (A)

Came to Virginia along with the 'Tiger' and brought together with it a total of 38 maids for wives.

Joseph Ham
John Locke
Robert Locke
Daniel Palmer
James Pascoll
John Rutherford
Richard Packe
Mathew Gloster
Elizabeth Downman (Mrs. John Downman)
Briggett Wilkines
Possibly Ellin, wife of Michaell Batt
Elizabeth Bygrave
Sarah, wife of Edward Fisher
Ann Jackson, wife of John Jackson
John Jackson
Edward Kildale
Margaret Naughton, wife of Ezekhiel
Clare Nen
John Steephens
Ann Stoak's, wife of John Stoak's
John Stoak's
Humphrey Walden
Thomas Ward
Barely possibly Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Gates (listed 1620)

1621 (A) 'WILLIAM & THOMAS'
Nicholas Abbott
William Julian (?)
Possibly Elizabeth Baram, wife of Anthony Baram
Capt. William Epes
George Frier
Joseph Johnson
Peeter Langman
Samuell March
Joseph Ryale
John Watson

(Note: 800 arrived safely in Virginia in 1621 on the approximately 29 ships listed above).

1621/2, March A small barke from Virginia to Bermuda stayed in Bermuda and returned to Virginia with native commodities.
Christopher Bankus

1622 (A) 'ABIGAIL' or
'ABIGALL'
Christopher Bankus
Katherine Benett
Susan Blackwood
Joseph Bull
John Canon
Joseph Deane
Eustice Downes
Jane Davis
Elisabeth Hunie
Oble Nero, a Frenchman
Elisabeth Nero (wife of John?)
Virbritt, a Frenchman
Possibly Abigall, wife of Richard Atkins
William Baker
Henery Bradford
Anthony Baram
Thomas Boughtie
Ann, wife of Robert Fitt
John Hasley
Hugh Hughe
Ann, wife of Hugh Hughs
John Jackson
Elizabeth Hodges
Margrett, wife of Joseph Johnson
Robert Lapworth
Samuell Morris
Lawrance Smalepage
John Smith
Thomas Smith

1622/3, 4 Jan. (D) 'ADAM & EVE'
This ship left England for "Checkohomini"; no record of its arrival.

1622 A small bark arrived in Bermuda from Virginia in October, 1622, and returned with 20,000 lbs. of potatoes and other freight.

1622, April (A) 'BONA NOVA' * 200 Capt. John Rudleston
By June, 1622, this ship was fishing off the coast of Maine.

Allice Boyse, wife of Luke Boyse
John Chambers
Rebecca Chamberlin
John Forth
Paule Harwood
John Upton
William Worlidge
Possibly Robert Addams
Francis Barrett
Thomas Benett
William Browinge
Robert Campion
Thomas Crouch
Nathaniel Floid
John Jefferson
Thomas Jones
Augustine Lock
Thomas Marloe
Leonard Moore
Thomas Ottowell
Thomas Phillip's
Ezekiah Raughton
George Rogers
John Russell (? of name?)
John Shelley
Osmond Smith
Willism Walters

1622, April (D) 'BONAVENTURE' or 50 tons to Va. with 10
'FRANCIS BONAVENTURE' or
'BONA ADVENTURE' 240 tons to Va. with 153
John Farrasore
Possibly Mr. Edward Blaney
Thomas Blanck's
Francis Butler
Henery Elwood
Mr. William Harwood
Niccolas Martue (Washington's ancestor)
George Nelson
Elizabeth, wife of George Onion

George Onion
Thomas Osborn
Christopher Ripping
William Ramshaw
Richard Sanders
John Smith
John Vty
Rice Watkins
Griffin Winne

1622, April (D) 'CHARITY' * 80 30
1622, July (A)
Came by way of Plymouth in New England.
Thomas Parrish
James Robinson (1621/2)
Joseph Royall (July, 1622)
Undoubtedly Thomas Granaby
John Chew
Robert Cholmle (Cholmondeley?)
Ellin, wife of John Ellison
James Standish

1622, Ante Novr. (A) 'CONQUEROR'
Brown says this ship came to Virginia.

1622 (A) 'DARLING' *

1622, ante 20 Jan.(A) 'DEVTIE'
Before 20 January 1622/3, 50 youths had been sent to Virginia in the 'Devtie'. This undoubtedly refers to the 1619 trip.

1622, April (A) 'DISCOVERY' * Capt. Thomas Jones
Sailed from Virginia for England in August, 1622, via New England. Passengers listed for March, 1621, O.S.
William Dawson
Roger Prenton

1622 (A) 'ELEANOR'
Came to Virginia before 7 October 1622.
William Elberry
Richard Heale

1622 'FLYING HART'

This trip is doubtful, as the passenger named is the only one listed for 1622, 14 others having been previously listed under 1621.

Kathren Powell, wife of (John?) Powell

1622/3, ante Jan. 20 (A) 'GEORGE'

Before 20 January 1622/3, the 'George' had transported "9 Cyttie boys, 9 maides and fower men." This refers, no doubt, to trips made before 1622.

1622, May (A) 'FURTHERANCE' * 180 80

John Army
Capt. Nathaniel Basse
Christopher Colethorpe
William Barnard
William Dalby
Charles Harman
Phillip Mithly
William Newman
George Pelton
William Stafford

Passengers around 1623

William Apleby
Arthur Cooke
William Jackson
John Manby
Steven
John Walker

1622, April (D) 'GODSGIFT' * 140 100
or 'GIFT OF GOD'

Apparently the passengers on the 'Godsgift' came in 1623. If the ship was the same as the 'GEIFE' or 'GUIFT' then it brought several passengers in 1622. See below:

1622, April (D) 'GODSPEED' 150 100
1622, Spring(D)

Left England in the spring of 1622, but Brown finds no record of its arrival in Virginia.

1622 (A) 'GUIFT' or 'GAIFE'
Nicholas Conon (on the 'Guift' 1622)
Nicholas Eyres (on the 'Guift,' 1622)
John Howard (on the 'Gaife' 1622)
Anne Slater (on the 'Guift,' 1622)
Possibly Thomas Alnutt
Margery, wife of Thomas Benett
John Davies
Hugh Hughs
Nathaniell Jeffreys
John Root

1622, May (D) 'JAMES' of London * 140 Tobias ffelgate, Mr.
1622, 17 July (D) 90
One record makes this ship one of 120 tons, instead of 140; another gives her 80 passengers, instead of 90.
Richard Appleton
John Bamford
Ivie Banton
John Chaplaine
Mary, wife of Isack Chaplaine
John Duffill
Richard English
Laurance Evans
Thomas Hawkins
Robert Hudson
Rev. Greville Pooley
William Popleton
Nicholas Sutton
Henery Thorne
Anthony West
Possibly Antonio, a "Negro"
Steephen Barker
William Bedford
Wasnell Kebling

1622 (A) 'JOHN & FRANCIS'
Luke Chapman
Edward Maybank
Christopher Reynold's
Possibly John Hall
Gabriell Holland
Rebecca, wife of Gabriell Holland

1622/3, ante Jan. 20 'JONATHAN'
Before 20 January 1622/3, maides had been sent to Virginia in the 'Jonathan'. This undoubtedly refers to the 1620 trip.

1622, May (D) 'MARGARET & JOHN' 160 80
1622, May (A)

Pet. Askley
William Brock (arrived in May)
William Davis
Adam Dixon
Ann Dixon
Elizabeth Dixon
Ralph Freeman
Hugh Hall
Thomas Harwood (arrived in May)
John Martin
Mary, a negro woman
Alice Mason
Joseph Moore
John Robins
John Robins, Jr.
John Robinson
Arthur Smith
Robert Sobyn
Edward Temple (arrived in May)
Henry West
Possibly Margarett, wife of David Ellis
Allen Monkston
Walgrave Mark's
John Nowell

1622 (A) 'MARIGOLD' or
'MARYGOLD'
James Chy
Possibly Mrs. Thomas Almutt
Henery Crocker
Thomas Hitchcock
Alice, wife of Thomas Hitchcock

1622 (A) 'MARIE PROVIDENCE' or
'MARY PROVIDENCE'
Thomas Faulkner
Thomas Frater
Thomas Proctor (in 1623)

1622 (A) 'MARY MARGARET' of Topsom Richard Curtis, Mr. License to transport passengers to Va., and afterward "to goe a fishinge."

1622, 23 Oct. 'PLANTATION'
Commission to Mr. Newlands to transport persons to Virginia and afterward to make a fishing voyage.

1622, April (D) 'PRIME-ROSE' or 80 60
'PRIMROSE'
There is no evidence that this ship ever reached Virginia before 1634.

1622 (A) 'PROVIDENCE'
Joane Bennett (wife of Samuell?)
Samiell Bennett
William Browne
Robert More
And 13 others in 1623.

1622, 12 Novr. 'SAMUELL' 30 Capt. Isack Maddison
Robert Benet, Master
"Good shipy of 30 tons now riding before Jamestowne."
Georg Menefy or Minifie (arrived 1622 according to one record; July, 1623, according to another).

1622, Decr. (A) 'SOUTHAMPTON' *
Mary Bennett
William Browne
Aaron Conaway
Samuell Davies
John Edmonds
Daniell Franck
John Freame
Mathew Hemon
William Hatfield (ancestor of 'Devil Anse') ?
John Holmes
Richard Johnson
Henery Jones
Gilbert Marburie (Cornish for "raven"?)
Robert Mathews
Capt. Samll. Matthews
Robert Owles
William Parnell
John Read
Elmer Phillipps
John Thomas
William Tompson
John Trussell
Roger Williams
Michaell Lapworth
Possibly Katherin Davies
Roger Delk
Peter Eccallowe Elizabeth Soothey
Also 30 more in 1623 and 3 more in 1624

1622, Christmas (A) 'SUCCESS' of Barnstaple
Owned by Mr. Delbridge; left Bermudas about December 16, and arrived in Virginia about Xmas.

1622 (A) 'TRUE LOVE'
Nicholas Baldwin
John Box
Ann, wife of William Branlin
Andrew Dudley
David Jones
Sarah, wife of Thomas Keie
John Trehearne
Henery Wilson (slain by Indians)
Possibly William Dorrell
At least 7 others in 1623 (q.v.)

1622 (A) 'TIGER'
John Baldwine
Thomas Swifte
Possibly Thomas Seywell (arrived 1623)
Jeremy White

1622 (A) 'WARWICK'
Elizabeth Ely
Possibly Ellin, wife of Michaell Batt
Elizabeth Hygrave
Sarah, wife of Edward Fisher
Ann Jackson, wife of John Jackson
John Jackson
Edward Kildale
Margaret Naughton, wife of Ezekiel
Clare Pen
John Steephens
Ann Stoak's, wife of John Stoak's
John Stoak's
Humphrey Walden
Thomas Ward

1622, May (D) 'WHITE LION' 160 40
Brown finds no evidence of its ever having come to Virginia's shores.

1623 (A) 'ABIGAIL'
LETTERS came to England from Virginia in the 'Abigail' in June, 1623. This would seem to indicate that the 'Abigail' was then returning to England from her trip to Virginia, made in 1622, although she may have made a separate trip to the colony in 1623.

1623, Feb. (D) 'ABRAHAM' of Topsom

1623, 9 June(D) 'ADAM' or 'ADDAM'
Left Kent with the 'Tyger' ('Tiger')

1623, July (A) 'ANBROSE'
William Clarke
Thomas Savadge
Mather Tomson
John Wright (?)

1623, 12 Feb. (D) 'ANN' of Virginia *
1623, August (A)
Received a grant to transport passengers and arrived in August, says Neill.
- John Baker
John Barker (same as John Baker?)
- Ann, wife of John Claye (arrived in August)
- Jane Farley, wife of Thomas Farley
- Thomas Farley
William Galloway
- Sara Goulding
William Jones
- John Jornall
- Collice, wife of Samuell March
- Wyatt Masonn
- William Mayle
Edward Mayers
- Edward Rogers
- Nicholas Shotten
- Thomas Warden (2 of name?)

1623, May (D) 'ANN' 40 25
1623, August (A) Undoubtedly the same ship as 'Ann' of Va.

1623, Summer (A) 'BELL' 40
Traded with Virginia

1623, April (D) 'BONNY BESSE (BESSIE)' 90 60
1623, May (D) of London
1623, August (A) Sent to Virginia with a small supply.
William Burt
Ann Chard, wife of Josuah (arrived in August)
Elizabeth Cobb
Rebecca Havening
William Stocker
Moyses Stones

1623, May or June 'DIAMOND'

English record of shipwreck of 'Diamond' and 'Unity' upon Ushant, returning from Virginia. This wreck must have been in 1609.

1623, July (A) 'DUE RETURNE' 60 10
'RETURNE'
'RETURN OF LONDON'
Randall Rawde ('Due Returne,' 1623)
James Crowder ('Returne', 1623)
Francis Downing ('Return', March, 1624)
Walter Hazlewood ('Due Returne')
Roger Rolford ('Returne' 1623)
Julian Hollier
Giles Martin
John Moone ('Returne', 1623)
John Moore ('Return of London,' 1623)
Ellis Kipping (Return, March 1624)
Clement Thrush
Possibly Richard Bickley
Thomas Cooper
Thomas Doleman

1623, Sept. (A) 'SWEEPSTAKE' of Midleborough
A barke which landed in Virginia in September or October, 1623, due to a mutiny on board; the ship was sold in Virginia.

1623, Summer (A) 'PERFORMANCE' 160
Traded with Virginia in the summer.
Around 1623 William Apleby
Arthur Cooke
William Jackson
John Manby
Stephen
John Walker
Possibly William Stafford

1623, July (D) 'GEORGE' of London * 180 70
1623, Octr. (A)

Henrie Charlton
Stephen Collowe
Ann, wife of Ellis Emerson
Ellis Emerson
Thomas, son of Ellis & Ann Emerson
Thomas Flower
Thomas Goulding
Richard Grove
Thomas Evand's
Thomas Hale
Roger Kidd
Thomas Kenieton or Kniston
Winifred Lenk, wife of Augustine Lenk
Charles Magner
Mary Morris (2 of name?)
Robert Munday
Margery, wife of William Mutch
Edward Prise
Robert Scotchmore
Lidia Sherley
Thomas Spillman
Richard Steephens
William Thomson
George Tomson
Paule Tomson
William Totle
Mrs. Mary Tucker
John Verin
Daniell Viero
James Watson
Thomas Weston
Richard Smith

1623, May (D) 'GODSGUIFT' or 60 Mr. Clare, Master 12
'GODSGIFT' or
'GODSGUIFTS'

William Bennett
Mr. Clare, Mr.
Sionell (Lionell?) Rowleton

10
1623, April (A) Mr. Cookin's ship (see the 'PROVIDENCE')
1623, Summer (A)

1623, Oct. (D) 'GREAT HOPEWELL' 120 15
John Bedeley
John Buckmaster
Edward Fallowes (in the 'Hopewell')
William Greene
Henery Lacton
Mathewe Robinsonn
Thomas, a servant
Possibly John Hacker
Thomas Kerfitt
Samuell Parson
William Sawier
Robert Sheppeard
Also 2 in 1624.

1623/4, ante Feb. (A) 'GUIDANCE'
John Clarke of London, Mariner, was hired by Mr. Daniel Cookin to take this ship as pilot to Virginia; this was carried out.

1623 (A) 'GUIFT'
John Attkins
Francis Bank's
William Benum
Possibly Thomas Alnutt
Margery, wife of Thomas Benett
John Davies
Hugh Hughs
Nathaniell Jeffreys
John Root

1623, July (D) 'HOPEWELL' or 'HOPWELL' 60 15
There were undoubtedly two different ships, the 'Hopewell' and the 'Great Hopewell', which came at different times to Virginia. Probably only the 'Great Hopewell' came in 1623. All passengers listed for both ships have been given above under 'Great Hopewell'.

1623, May (A) 'JOHN & FRANCIS' 100 10
Apparently this ship came from Canada.
John Davis
Capt. Thomas Davis
Thomas Hewes
Nice Jones from Canada
William Weaver
Possibly John Hall
Gabriell Holland
Rebecca Holland, wife of Gabriell Holland

1623 (A) 'JONATHAN'
Roland Williames
Possibly William Bullock
Arthure Chandler
Richard Downes
Henery Dowtie
Ester Ederife
Edward Fisher
Elizabeth Norcock, wife of Revoll Norcock
Revoll Norcock
Willism Mutch
Isboll Pratt
Thomas Rose
William Ward
Francis Wilton

1623, Nov. or Dec. (D) 'KATHARINE' Capt. Gorges

Capt. Gorges's ship, having passengers for Virginia, sailed there; West may have returned on her to Va.
Nicolas Thredder

1623 (A) 'LITTLE JAMES' 120
Referred to in 1623, but she made her voyage about August 12, 1622. See 'James' above.

1623, Summer (A) 'MARGARET & JOHN' * 120
Traded with Virginia
Elizabeth Dickinson
Pharaoh Flinton (?)
Barnard Jackson
Mr. Langley
Hugh Hall
Robert Peake
John Secker
Rebecca Taylor
Mr. Wright
Possibly Margrett, wife of David Ellis
Allen Keniston
Walgraue Mark's
John Nowell

1623, Sept. (D) 'MARMADUKE' 100 John Dennis, Master 30
Arrived in Bermuda in 1623, bound for Virginia
Thomas Bridges
Robert Crew
Nicholas Greenhill
Chadwallader Jones
William Kingsley
Possibly Edward Cadge

1623 'MARY PROVIDENCE'
If the following passenger was the same as Thomas Frater, listed for 1622, then this ship probably made no voyage to Virginia in 1623:
Thomas Proctor

1623, April (A) 'PROVIDENCE' * Capt. Clarke
Chartered by Daniel Gookin and undoubtedly owned by him; Mr. Gookin's ship is known to have arrived in the summer of 1623, or more specifically, on April 10, 1623. It was a ship of 80 tons which "traded with Virginia in the summer"

Edward Chisman
Presumably Henrie Carsley
Isaye Delywarr
Roger Walker
William Clarke
William Croney
Ann Ebsworth
Ellnor Harris
William Longe
Edmond Morgen
Joseph Mosley
John Parrott
Robart Smith

1623, Oct. (D) 'RETURNE' 40 12
or 'RETURNE OF LONDON'
Randall Dawde ('Due Returne, 1623)
Roger Heford ('Returne,'1623)
Julian Hollier
Giles Martin
James Crowder
John Moore
Clement Thrush
Possibly Richard Bickley
Thomas Cooper
Thomas Doleman ('Returne', no date)
Francis Downing ('Return', March, 1624)
Ellis Hipping ('Return', March, 1624)
Christopher Smith ('Returne', 1624)

1623, July (A) 'SAMUEL' *
George Miniffe arrived in July, 1623, according to one record; in 1622, according to another.

1623, early (D) 'SEAFLOWER' *
Left England for Virginia with supplies; stopped at Bermudas, caught fire, and burnt up, March 28. Some of the passengers listed as possible in 1621 may have come on this voyage and obtained passage to Virginia in another ship from the Bermudas.

1623, Oct. (D) 'SOUTHAMPTON' 180 30
Arrived in Virginia in December, 1622, or 1623.
Thomas Abbe
John Bates
Thomas Brooks
Rebecca Browne (wife of William?)
Thomas Chambers
Alice Chambers
William Allen
John Davies
Katherin Davies (?)
Georg Dawson
Roger Delk (?)
Robert Graves
Edward Hubberstead
Solomon Jackman
Walter Jackson
Nathan (or William) Jones
Peter Jones
Henery Lane
John Lathrop
Thomas Lee
Christopher Lee
Katherine Leman
Anthony Pagett or Paggit
Elizabeth Peirsey, daughter of Abraham Peirsey
Mary Peirsey
Clement Roper
Richard Serieant
Annis Shaw
Henry Sanders
Alice Thorowden
Pierce Williams
Possibly Katherin Davies
Roger Delk
Peter Eccallowe
Susan Lasey, wife of William (arrived 1624)
William Lasey
John Simnell (arrived 1624)
Elizabeth Soothey

1623, Summer (A) 'SPARROW' 30
Traded with Virginia in the summer.

1623 (A) 'SWAN' or 'SWANN'
Benjamin Owin
John Pedro, a Negor
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocker
Robert Paramour
James Robesonn
John Stone
Also 26 in 1624.

1623 (A) 'TRUE LOVE' *
William Barnett
James Bonner
Edward Denison
Julian Hallers
Thomas Killson
Giles Martin
Clinion Rush
Alexander Sanders
Possibly William Dorrell

1623, Summer (A) 'TYGER' 45
Traded with Virginia in the summer.
Thomas Seywell
Possibly Jeremy White

1623, Summer A pynnace of Mr. Weston's traded with Virginia in the summer.

1623, May (A) 'WILLIAM & JOHN' 50 6
Possibly Mordecay Knight
Also 2 in 1624

1624 (A) 'CHARLES'
John Askume
Robert Fennell
Possibly William Hartley
Roger Ruce

1624 (A) 'DIANA'
In Virginia in 1624; whether she made a voyage in that year is problematical.
Possibly Thomas Jorden
George Prouse
Thomas Swinhow
Henery Woodward
Jane Woodward, wife of Henery Woodward

1624 (A) 'DUE RETURN' * Capt. William Pierce
Or 'RETURN?'
Francis Downing (arrived 'Return', March, 1624)
Ellis Ripping ('Return', March, 1624)
Christopher Smith ('Returne' March, 1624)
Possibly Richard Bickley
Thomas Cooper
Thomas Doleman
Walter Haslewood ('Due Returne', no date)

1624 (A) 'HOPEWELL'
Mars Medcalfe
Morris Stanley
Possibly John Buckmuster (Buckmaster?)
John Hacker
Thomas Kerfitt
Samuell Parson
William Sawier
Robert Sheppeard

1624 (A) 'JACOB' * 60
May have stayed over from the November, 1623, voyage. One record indicates it left England, November, 1623; arrived Virginia, 1624.
Charles (Dawde?)
Robert Bennett
William Binsley
William Bentley or Bentlie
Niccolas Dale
Robert Draper
Henrie Feeldes
Mathias Francisco
Joyse Gyffith
Mathew Hardcastell
Richard Edward's
John Harris
William Smith
Probably Robert Julian

1624 (A) 'JAMES' Toby Ffolgate, Master
Arrived at Bermuda in 1624/5 on its way to Virginia.
Henry Carter
Possibly Steephen Barker

1624 (A) 'PROSPEROUS' *
Possibly John Carter
John Ellison
Thomas Harris (came in May, year unknown)

1624, March (A) 'RETURNE'
Francis Downing
Ellis Kipping
Christopher Smith
Possibly Thomas Doleman
Richard Bickley
Thomas Cooper
Walter Haslewood (in 'Due Returne')
Also 2 in 1625.

1624 (A) 'SOUTHAMPTON'
William Lasey
Susan Lasey, wife of William Lasey
John Simnell
Possibly Katherin Davies
Roger Delk
Peter Eccallowe
Elisabeth Loothey

1624 (A) 'SUSAN' *
Possibly Elnor, wife of George Graue
John Graue, son of George and Elnor Graue
Jane, wife of Richard Kingsmell
Rebecca Snow
Sare Snow
Morten Wright

1624 (A) 'SWAN' OR 'SWANN'
John Anthonie
George Bankes
Richard Burton
James Feild
Robart Godwin
John Howard
Francis Huff
William Ellison
Capt. John Martin
Henrie Masfeild
Abraham Pelteare
Nicholas Raymbeard (Niccholas Raynberd)

Richard, a boy
Martin Slatier (from Canada)
John Smith
William Tomspn
George Turnor
John Watson
Sackford Wetherill
Susan (Yonge?)
Possibly Walter Blake
Jone, wife of Henery Crocker
Robert Paramour
James Robesonn
John Stone

1624 (A) 'TEMPERANCE'
William Prowse

1624 (A) 'WILLIAM & JOHN'
John Griffin
Edward Williams
Possibly Mordecay Knight

1625 (A) 'AMERICA'
This ship is not known to have touched at Virginia, but it brought a member of the Virginia council in 1642 and may have brought other colonists:
Col. William Barnard

1625 (A) 'RETURNS'
Richard Reeve
John Robbins
Possibly Richard Bickley
Thomas Cooper
Thomas Doleman
Walter Haslewood (on 'Due Returne')

1626, 13 Jan. 'FLYING HART' or 'FLYING HORSE' of Flushing
Late in February, 1626, she returned from Virginia to England with a letter of the Governor and Council dated 13 January 1626.

1626, 29 April (D) 'JAMES'
Left England for Virginia with the new Governor.

1626, 23 March (A) 'VIRGIN' of Southampton
"On the 23 March 1626 arrived in Virginia the good shipp the Virgon of Southampton with letters from yr Lopps."

1627

1628 (A) 'HOPEWELL'
Jon. Barnards
Stephen Bernard
Margaret Bilbie
Thomas Boulton
Jon. Bradston
Thos. Brooks
Tho. Chandler
Andw. Chart
Susan Colson
William Edwards
Robert Heassell
Rich. Jago
Rich. Jenerie
Richard Johnson
Thos. Johnson
Thomas Keeling
Rachel Lane
James Leading
Jon. Leake
Jon. Mayse
Thomas Melton
Jon. Newarke
Francis Newton
Edw. Parish
John Penton
John Percie
Edward Pitts
Jane Prosser
Dennis Russell
Ann Spark
Capp. Adam Thoroughgood
Edmond Wallis
Augustine Warner (Washington's ancestor)
Jon. Waters
Jane Westerfield
Possibly John Bucksmuster
John Hacker
Thomas Kerfitt
Samuell Parson
William Sawier
Robert Sheppeard

1628 (A) 'TRUELOVE' of London
Andrew Boyer
Thomas Boyer
John Harris
John Lock
Possibly William Borrell

1628, 18 June (D) 'WILLIAM & JOHN' 50 Richard Andrewes, Master
Capt. Robert Pelgate, his son, & 4 servants.

1629 (A) The Spanish Pregat
May have arrived in 1624 according to land patent record, but 1629 is the more probable date.
Geo. Adams
Edward Ames
George Archer
Silvester Atkins
Jon. Baker
Anth. Box
Tho. Cropp
Jonath. Elliser
Fr. Epes
Capt. Francis Epes
Jon. Epes
Tho. Epes
Tho. Fownes
Robert Fossett
Rich. Hewett
Sarah Hatmore
Hugh James
Jon. Joyce
Richd. Litchfeild
Jane Long
Jon. Long
Jon. Nowell
Thomas Pattison
James Rowland
Susan Mills
Rich. Stayle
Barthol. Swinborne
Ann Turner
Jon. Warden

1629 (A) The French Ship
John Dyer
William Hines
William Hookes
Edward Jones
Edward Palmer
Edward Reynolds

1630-1 'AFRICA'
A ship owned by William Claiborne; was in the colony.

1631, 27 Apr. A pinnace, 16 tons, from Virginia to New England with corn and tobacco.

1631, 4 July (D) 'WARWICK' Capt. Henry Fleet
1631, 21 Oct.(A)
A bark of Capt. Henry Fleet, explorer of the Potomac. On 4 July he weighed anchor from the Downes and arrived at Pascattowaie on 9 September. From Pascattowaie he sailed down to Virginia, where he anchored in the bay on 21 October. On 26 October the 'Warwick' was at Towaccomoco. He returned shortly thereafter to New England. By 14 March 1632/3 he was in New England with corn from Virginia.

1632 (A) 'SUSAN' of London
Thomas Owen
Probably Mrs. William Cole
Mrs. Kingsmell

1632, 13 May (A) 'WARWICK' Capt. Henry Fleet's bark
On May 13, 1632, Fleet anchored at Accomack. By 17 May he was in the Potomack with a pinnace from New England. On 28 August 1632 in the Potomac Fleet was arrested by Capt. John Uty, member of the Virginia Council. On 7 September he anchored at Jamestown. Neill says Governor Harvey and Fleet colluded to defraud Griffith & Co. of London, owners of the 'Warwick' and Fleet returned to England in a barque of 16 tons built by himself.

1633 (A) 'HOPEWELL'
John Knies
William Fawne
William Castrock
Gilbert Oye
Daniell Hutton

Georg Mee
Jon. Reynolds
William Speed
William Was
James Wilsonn
John Writt

1633/4 (A) 'THUNDER' of New England
Arrived at Bermuda, 10 November 1633, and left for Virginia with provisions, 2 January 1634.

1633 (A) Yacht of David Pietersson De Vries, the Master of Ordnance of West Friesland; in New England according to Winthrop by 16 April 1633.

1634 (A) 'BONA ADVENTURE'
James Bally
Patrick Blacock
John Gowee
Ann Boulton
Stephen Swaine
Jon. Wakefeild
Mr. John Utie (?)

1634, 2 Jan. (D) 'BONAVENTURE' James Nicrofte, Master 169
See 'BONA ADVENTURE' above.

1634 (A) 'DEFENCE' Capt. Tobias Felgate
This ship is stated in the land patents to have transported four persons in 1634, names unknown.

1634 (A) 'JON. & DOROTHY'
Jon. Alporte
Thos. Atmore
Jon. Brewton
Tho. Creaser
Arthur Eggleston
Henry Franklin
Robert Gainnie
Humphrey Heyward
Henry Hill
Jon. Hill
Mary Hill
Jon. Holton
William Holton
Cob. Howell
William Kempe
Christ. Newgent

Richard Poole
Joseph Sedgwick
Thomas Smith
Robert Spring
Symond Stanfield
Adam Thoroughgood
Roger Ward
George Whitehead
Edward Windam
Stephen Withers
Henry Wood
Jon. Withers

1634 'LONG TAIL'
A pinnace belonging to Capt. Claiborne, captured by the Marylanders.

1634 (A) 'MARY' of Bristol
John Jasper

1634, August (D) 'MERCHANTS' HOPE' Robert Payge, Master
Thomas Verney and servants
Robert Eastwell

1634 (A) Mr. Middleton's ship
William Fletcher

1634 (A) 'PALMROSE' of London
Elisabeth Fletcher

1634, 23 Apr. 'ST. [illegible]', a Maryland pinnace under Capt. Cornwallis fought Claiborne's Lieut. Ratcliffe Warren at Pocomoke.

1634 (A) 'THUNDER'
Left Virginia with corn and goats and was in New England on 1 June 1634.

1635, Before (A) 'AMERICA'
Ann Allerson
Victo Fraford
Merciful Halley
Ann Long
Cassander Underwood
Dorothy Wheeler

1635, Before (A) 'ARK'
Francis Bramly

1635, Before (A) 'CHRISTOPHER & MARY'
Elizabeth Cosmore

1635, 24 Oct. (D) 'ABRAHAM' of London John Barker, Master 51
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, (A) 'ALICE' Richard Orchard, Master 32
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 23 June (A) 'AMERICA' William Barker, Master 88
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 24 July (D) 'ASSURANCE' of London Isaack Bromwell & Geo. Fewsie, Masters 221
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 2 Oct. (D) 'CONSTANCE' Clement Campion, Master 85
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 2 Sept.(D) 'DAVID' Jo. Howe, Master 42
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 1 Aug. (A) 'DAVID' of Bristol
William Garner

1635, 1 August(A) 'ELIZABETH' of London Christopher Browne, Master 39
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 21 Aug. (A) 'GEORGE' Jo. Severne, Master 152
from London
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 7 Aug. (A) 'GLOBE' of London Jeremy Blackman, Master 161
Probably the old East Indiaman of 1621.
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635 (D) 'JAMES' J. May, Master
From London

1635 (A) 'KING DAVID', ship of David Pieterse. De Vries, made 2 trips to Virginia in the year.

1635, 31 July (D) 'MERCHANTS' HOPE' [1] Hugh Weston, Master 75
From London
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 6 July (D) 'PAULS' of London Leonard Bette, Master 115
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 20 June (D) 'PHILLIP' Richard Morgan, Master 44
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 15 May (D) 'PLAIN JOANE' Richard Buckam, Master 84
Passengers listed by Hotten

1635, 27 July (D) 'PRIMROSE' Capt. Douglass, Master 138
From London
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 10 Aug. (D) 'RAPHTY' John Graunt, Master 144
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 28 May (D) 'SPEEDWELL' OF London Jo. Chappell, Master 59
Passengers listed by Hotten.

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1. Cf. "Merchant's Hope Church" in Prince George County, erected 1657, Appendix XVI, infra.

1635, 21 Aug. (D) 'THOMAS' Henry Taverner, Master 58
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 6 June (D) 'THOMAS & JOHN' Richard Lambard, Master 105
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635, 4 July (D) 'TRANSPORT' of London Edward Walker, Master 150
Passengers listed by Hotten.

1635 (D) 'TRUELOVE' From London J. Gibbs, Master

1635 (D) 'TRUELOVE' From London R. Dennis, Master

1635, April (A) A ship of Holland with persons from the Bermudas. 145

1635 (A) An English ship from the Bermudas. She brought colonists from Bermudas. 60

1636 (A) De Vries's Ship

1636 Samuel Maverick took 2 pinnaces North with heifers and goats and on 3 August 1636 was in New England.

1637 (D) 'ELIZABETH', owned by Joseph Hawes, merchant, was taken by 11 Spaniards at sea. Passengers fate unknown.

1636, March (D) 'FRIENDSHIPE' of Leonard Betts, Master
1637, March (A) London
There were 21 in the ship's company of the 'Friendshipe'
Jerome Hawley

1637 (A) 'JONAS' Thomas Taylor, Master
George Lawrance

1637 (A) 'FLAINE JOANE', brought
Robert Evelyn back to Virginia

1637, 4 June(D) 'UNITY' of Isle of Wight William Upton,
Master

1638 (A) 'LOVE' of London Capt. Bicking, 30
Master
Geo. Abraham
Robert Barwood
Patrick Cane or Cave
William Cooke
Richard Flood
Hugh Forshew
John Garrett
William Hance
Ralph Harrington
Tho. Lisle
Richard Newman
Richard Owen
John Saltrea
Hugh Seaver
James Smith
John Thomas
John Weever
Richard Williams
Also 12 negroes

1638, Spring (A) 'GRIFFIN'
A sloop from Sweden.

1638, (A) 'WILLIAM'
Alice Assine
Richard Canny
William Chandler
John Harrison
Rice Harvy
Anne Nakeland

1638/9, March 'ELIZABETH' Bound for Virginia with passengers and merchandise was taken by 11 sail of the Spanish West Indies fleet.

1639

1640, or earlier 'PLANTER' took Sir John Harvey to London with his physician, Bartram Obert, of Lancaster County, Va. (county not formed at that time).

1640-1647 (ca.) 'HONOUR' Mr. Harris, Master
The master of this ship had a 7 year lease on a landing.

1640, May (D) 'ELIZABETH' John Fairberne, Master
William Hill of Wapping, mariner, shipped as pilot and chief mate.

1641, Sept. (D) 'HONOUR' with passengers to number of 160

1641, December (D) 'DORSET' of London James Graynedge, 150 Master
Its 150 passengers took the oath of allegiance at Gravesend.

1641, ca. Oct. (D) 'MAYFLOWER' owned by Laurence Greene, Grocer of London. Left England with 20 passengers (referred to as servants of Lawrence Greene) and provisions for Virginia.

1641, June 20 'REBECCA' Richard Young, Master
Set upon by 2 Dunkirkers as returning laden with Virginia tobacco.

1641, Sept. (D) 'REBECCA'

1642 (A) 'GILLYFLOWER' Elias Pillgram, Master
Left for Virginia from Bermuda, 11 August, 1642.

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1642 Pinnace of Philip Dennet, Gent., was in New England from Virginia on 6 September 1642, seeking Puritan ministers for Virginia.

1643 (A) Ship for Virginia from New England with 3 Puritan ministers; left New England, March 30, 1643.

1643/4 (A) Capt. David Pietersz. De Vries, the Dutchman. He gives an eye-witness account of the encounter between the Royalists (Bristolers) and the Londoners.

1644, 26 Aug. (D) 'REFORMATION' Capt. Ingle accompanied by seven other ships commissioned by Parliament.

1644 A Ship from Virginia arrived in New England on 20 May 1644, telling of the massacre and of a fight between a London ship for the Parliament and a Bristol ship for the King, according to Winthrop.

1645 'BLESSINGS OF VIRGINIA' brought goods to the Eastern Shore of Virginia from Holland.

1645, Feb. (A) 'REFORMATION' Capt. Ingle
On this date the 'Reformation' was at St. Mary's, Maryland.

1645 (A) 'WATER BUCK' of Rotterdam
A large trading vessel at Accomack

1646

1647, Xmas. According to John Eaton Cooke there were in the James River: 10 vessels from London
2 vessels from Bristol
12 vessels from Holland
7 vessels from New England

1648 At the close of this year, 31 ships traded with the colony, 12 from London and Bristol, 12 from Holland, and 7 from New England

1649, 15 Sept. (D) 'VIRGINIA MERCHANT' 300 Capt. John Locker, Master 330
1650, 12 Jan. (A)

On the arrival date the ship was among the islands of Assateague Bay. The royalist exiles went ashore on Fennick's Island (?). Jenkin Price, a Welsh fur trader, guided Norwood and others to Littleton's plantation. In recompense, in 1660 the Assembly, Norwood then being Treasurer, gave 5000 lbs. of tobacco to Price for the preservation "of certain persons." This ship is usually cited as being the chief vessel which bore royalist refugees to the Virginia colony.

Thomas Harman
Francis Cary
Col. Henry Norwood
Many others.

1649/50, (D) 'FLOWER DE LUCE' frigate John White, Master

1649/50 (D) 'THOMAS & JOHN' William Farr, Master

1649/50, 20 Feb. Two ships, the 'Flower de Luce' and 'Thomas & John' now in the Thames fitting forth to sea and bound to Virginia to transport divers persons thither that are disaffected to the Commonwealth (referred to as "this Commonwealth").

1649/50 'JOHN & THOMAS' to Virginia with passengers Security given that ship shall not be employed in anything that is disservice to the Commonwealth; same ship as 'Thomas & John', *quaere*.

1650, 10 Aug. Orders to make stay of all ships for Virginia until further order. £2000 bond given by owners and masters that they would not come under command of any Fort or Castle when they come to Virginia.

1650 'CHARLES' Thomas Wilson, Master

1650 'CONSTANT ANN' OF London
Bound for Virginia, last from Cowes, owned by John and Francis Dorrington and William Mitchell.

1650 'FLOWER DE LUCE'

1650 'HONOR' John Lorymer, Master

1650 'JOHN & KATHERINE' Capt. John Miller

1650 'JOHN & THOMAS' Thomas Pett, Master

1650 'MARGARET' Arthur Baily, Master

1650 'PETER & JOHN' Nathaniel Cooke, Master

1650 'THOMAS & JOHN'
(same as the 'John & Thomas' (?)

1650 'WHITHORNE & CURRYCOMBE' John Fox, Master

1650 'WILLIAM & JOHN' Nathaniel Jesson, Master

1651 Ships at Bristol bound for Virginia; number not given by Sainsbury (IV, 68).

1651 'GUINEA' (see 'Guinea Frigate'
Arrived at Jamestown with Parliamentary commissioners.

1651, 26 Sept(D) 'GUINEA FRIGATE' Edmund Curtis, Commander

1651 'JOHN' Capt. Robert Dennis, Parliamentary Commander in Chief left with the 'John' and the 'Guinea Frigate' on 26 September 1651. The 'John' was lost at sea, and numerous members of the crew left widows who presented petitions for aid after the drowning of their husbands.

1651 'PATIENCE'
A trading ship; Robert Williams, surgeon.

1651 A small ship from Parliament was in a skirmish with Cavalier native forces in Northampton County, Va.

1652 'ANN CLEAR' , a ship of Capt. Scarburg's on the Eastern Shore.

1652 'ARTILLERY', a ship of Capt. Scarburgh's

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'ANTHONY' received pass for ship and passengers to pass free of molestation.

1652, Febr. (A) A Bristol merchantman from New England under Capt. John Jacob, "a high Germayne from Frankendall in the Palatinate" was lying in Occahannock Creek, Eastern Shore.

1652, Oct.22 (D) 'CHARLES' granted pass for ships company and passengers to pass free of molestation.

1652, January 'DELIVERANCE' a barque of 20 tons was sold by Captain Scarburgh on the Eastern Shore.

1652, 13 June (A) 'FAME OF VIRGINIA' Mr. Walter Chiles, owner
Set sail from Virginia 24 January 1651-2 for Rotterdam and was captured 13 June 1652 by Richard Husband of the 'Hopeful Adventure' in the road of Accomack

1652 (A) 'SARDWELL' of Amsterdam
At Accomack.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'GOLDEN LYON' received pass for ships company and passengers to pass free of molestation.

1652 'HOBBY HORSE' a ship of Capt. Scarburgh's.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'HONOR', received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652 (A) 'HOPEWELL' George Raymond, Master
1652, 3 Sept. (D)
Ship bound for Virginia with 16 free mariners.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'HOPEWELL ADVENTURE' Richard Husband,
or 'HOPEFULL ADVENTURE' Master
Received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.
Seized the ship of Mr. Walter Chiles in the Road of Accomac.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'JOHN & CATHERINE' or
'JOHN & KATHERINE'
Received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'JOHN & THOMAS'
Received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652, January 'KING DAVID', a galiot, sold by Col. Scarburgh.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'MARGARET'
Received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652, Aug. 2 (D) 'MARIE & FRANCES' Benedick Stafford,
Master
Bound for Virginia with 16 mariners free from impressment by Parliament.

1652 'MAYFLOWER', a barque sold by Col. Scarburgh.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'PLANTER'
Received a pass for ships company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652, Sept.27(D) 'SARAH BONADVENTURE' 19
She left England with 18 men and a boy.

1652 'SEAHORSE' John Ames, Skipper
A ship of Col. Scarburgh's; John Ames was Skipper and William Scott was Pilot. She was captured by the Dutch in 1651.

1652, Febr. (A) 'STARWELL'
British ship under Capt. Peter Wraxall lying in Occahannock Creek.

1652, Sept. 27 (D) 'TWO BROTHERS' 300 35
The ship's company consisted of 34 men and a boy.

1652, Oct. 22 (D) 'WILLIAM & JOHN' 87
Received pass for ship's company and passengers to pass to Virginia free of molestation.

1652/3, Jan.21(D) Alexander Bence, John Greensmith, Thomas & William Allen, John Owen, John Harris, John Jeffries, Thomas Potter, and other proprietors of ships to sail for Virginia with a warrant:

'ANTHONY'
'CHARLES'
'GOLDEN LYON'
'HONOUR'
'HOPEWELL ADVENTURE'
'JOHN & KATHERINE'
'MARGARET'
'PLANTER'
'WILLIAM & JOHN'

1652/3 Major-General Gibbons's pinnace which went along with Capt. Curtis to Virginia was taken by Wilson & Reud.

1652/3 (A) 'GOLDEN FORTUNE'
Ship owned by Nicholas Howard, Job Nutt, et al. and bound for Va.

1652/3, Jan. 21 (D) 'JAMES'

1652/3, (A) 'PLUE'
Ship owned by Nicholas Howard, Job Nutt, et al. and bound for Virginia.

1652/3, Jan. 21 (D) 'SEVEN SISTERS'

1653, Sept. 7 (D) 'ABRAHAM' 120 14
Ship for Virginia and Barbados.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'AMITY' John Tully, Master

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'ANTHONY' Hugh Wilson, Master

1653, Sept. 12 (D) 'BONAVENTURE' 100 14 guns
One of three ships for Virginia against the Dutch.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'CHARLES' Thomas Wilson, Master

1653, Dec. 6 (D) 'EAGLE' of Yarmouth Thomas Hardingham, Master
A private man of war.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'GOLDEN FORTUNE' Samuel Tilman, Master

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'HONOR' John Price, Master

1653, Sept. 12 (D) 'HOPE' 120 8 guns
One of three ships for Virginia against the Dutch.

1653, Sept. 7 (D) 'JANE' 140 17 guns
One of three ships for Virginia and Barbados.

1653 (D) 'JOHN' (lost at sea)(see 1652)

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'JOHN & KATHERINE' John Miller, Master

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'JOHN & THOMAS' Thomas Pott, Master

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'KING DAVID' John Boswell, Master

1653 (A) 'LEOPOLDUS' of Dunkirk 300 tons
Adjudged forfeit and sold to Lt. Col. Walter Chiles.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'MARGARET' Robert Fox, Master

1653, Sept. 12 (D) 'MAYFLOWER' 160 18 guns
One of three ships for Virginia against the Dutch.

1653 (ca.) (A) 'NICHOLAS & MARGARET' Capt. Samuel Pensax
At Lancaster County, Virginia.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'REPORT' Edward Dunning, Master

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'RICHARD & BENJAMIN' John Whitty, Master

1653 (A) 'ST. JOHN' of Amsterdam
A Dutch prize ship, captured July 5, 1653; the Governor of Virginia approved its sale on July 29, 1653.

1653, Nov. 24 (D) 'THE SEVEN SISTERS' Abraham Read, Master

1653, Sept. 7 (D) 'THOMAS' 90 tons 10 guns
One of three ships for Virginia and Barbados.

1653, Nov. 26 (D) 'WILLIAM' of London William Gure, Master
Departed with full number of passengers.

1653, Aug. 22 (D) Commission for a private man of war to Robert Yeomans, merchant, of Bristol.

1654 (A) 'CHARITY' John Bosworth, Master
Robert Chipson, a Merchant
Henry Corbin
Mary Lee (the "Witch")

1653/4 (A) 'RICHARD & BENJAMIN' of London
Capt. John Whitty of London, mariner
At Lancaster County, Virginia in 1653/4.

1654, July 27 (D) 'ANTHONY'

1654, July 27 (D) 'BROTHERS ADVENTURE'

1654 (A) 'CHARITY' John Bosworth, Master
Robert Chipson, a Merchant
Henry Corbin
Mary Lee (the "Witch")

1654, July 27 (D) 'CHRISTIAN'

1654, July 27 (D) 'GOLDEN LYON'

1654, July 27 (D) 'HENRY & DAVID'

1654, July 27 (D) 'HONOUR'

1654, July 27 (D) 'HOPEFUL ADVENTURE'

1654, July 27 (D) 'HOPEFUL LUKE'

1654, July 27 (D) 'JOHN & KATHERINE'

1654, July 27 (D) 'JOHN OF BARKSHIRE'

1654, July 27 (D) 'MARGARET'

1654, July 27 (D) 'MAYFLOWER'

1654, July 27 (D) 'PEACE'

1654, Oct. 17 (D) 'PEACE' of Amsterdam 220 tons or 200 tons. John White of Amsterdam was the owner. John Oxford, Master

1654, July 27 (D) 'PLANTER'

1654, July 27 (D) 'THOMAS & ANNE'

1654, July 27 (D) 'WILLIAM'

1654, July 27 (D) 'WILLIAM & JOHN'

1654/5, Jan 2 (D) 'CHARLES' Samuel Cooper, Master

1655, Sept. (D) 'ANTHONY'
Left Gravesend

1655, Nov. 22 (D) 'HENRY & DAVID' Mr. Samuel Pensax, Master

1655 Captain Throwgood's (Thoroughgood's) ship in Lancaster; Thomas Wills, Mate.

1655/6 (A) 'ANTHONY' of London at Rappahannock
Lancaster County Records.

1656, August(D) 'ANTHONY' for Virginia laden with salt
Owner was Thomas Goldclough, Merchant.

1656 (A) 'CHARLES' of London Samuel Cooper, Master
Landed at P_____(Pevensey?) in Sussex on June 6, 1656.

1656, August(A) 'CONQUER'
Persons enticed on board for Virginia. Some willingly, others unwillingly.

1656 (A) 'GOLDEN FALCON' of London Samuell Tillman, Master
Landed on July 11, 1656 at Deal in Kent.

1656 (A) 'GOLDEN LYON' of London Roger Heminge or Heamans, Commander

1656 (A) 'GOLDEN PATIENT' of London Jeremy Wilson, Master
Landed at Deal in Kent, July 11, 1656.

1656 (A) 'HOPE' of London John Price, Commander
Landed at Dover, May 4, 1656.

1656 (A) 'JAMES' of London Nathaniell Cook, Commander
Landed at Dover, July 11, 1656.

1656 (A) 'THOMAS & ANNE' of London John Fox, Commander
Landed in England, May 4, 1656.

1656 (A) 'WILLIAM & JOHN' of London Capt. Richard Holman, Commander
Landed at Dover, May 4, 1656.

1657 (D) 'CONQUER' (see note under August, 1656)
Persons enticed on board, 15 willingly, 12 unwillingly.

1657 (A) 'SPREAD EAGLE' 300
This ship arrived at Bermuda on February 7, and sailed in that month for Virginia.

1658 (A) A catch of Virginia arrived at Bermuda Town on May 31, 1658, and sailed away on June 8, carrying several seamen who had been cast away on the Bermuda rocks.

1658, July 22 (D) 'JOVE' Samuel Groome, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'GOLDEN LYON' Christopher Eveling, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'HONOR' John Prise, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'JAMES [illegible] MERCHANT' Edward Gunnell, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'JOHN & KATHERINE' John Miller, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'MARCHANT' Robert Fox, Master

1658, (A) 'ORANGE TREE'
This ship arrived at Bermuda Castle on December, 28, 1658, and sailed on January 13, for Virginia.

1658, July 22 (D) 'RECOVERY' Richard Husband, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'RECOVERY' John Young, Master

1658, July 22 (D) 'RELIEF' John Tully, Master

1658 (A) 'SUSAN', a Virginia vessel of which Col. William Ball of Millenbeck in Lancaster was part-owner, presumably in 1658 plying between England and Virginia.

1658,22July(D) 'WILLIAM & JOHN' Richard Holdman, Master

1658 (A) A ketch, Carver, Master, from Bermuda, where it arrived, Nov. 2d, 1658, and sailed for Va. 12 Decr.

1658/9 (A) 'ANTHONY' of London Thomas Jones, Master

1658/9, (A) 'DOLPHIN' of Amsterdam Mr. Nicholas Smith, Master

1658/9, (A) 'DOVE' Mr. Samuell Croom, Commander

1658/9 (A) 'GOOD WILL' of Bristol Capt. Peter Wramall, Commander

1658/9 (A) 'RECOVERY' of Bristol Mr. Richard Sellacke, Master

1658/9 (A) 'RECOVERY' Of London Capt. Richard Husbands

1658/9 (A) 'VALENT' of Bristol Mr. Henry Haines, Master

1658/9 (A) Ship of Southampton David Welldy, Master

1659 (A) 'VIRGINIA MERCHANT' Robert Burlie, Master
Arrived Bermuda Castle, January 11, 1659. Sailed February 18, 1659, for Virginia and carried away the 'Eagle's' passengers.

1660 (A) 'CHARLES'
A vessel of Barbadoes, arrived at Bermuda Town on Sept. 28, 1660, and sailed October 4, for Va. She carried away George Rose, the Quaker.

1660 (A) 'TROYALL' of Virginia (S.W. English dialect for 'Triall')! John Stevenson, Master
Arrived Bermuda Town, September 21, 1660, and sailed December 9.

1661 'VIRGINIA MERCHANT'
This ship was cast away on the South coast of Bermuda on March 26, 1661, and 170 lives were lost. Four of these appear in 1665 as Virginia headrights, but the names are not given

1662, 10 Sept. (A) 'HENRY & MARY' Galliot Hey from Delaware to Lancaster County, Virginia.

1663 (A) 'ELIZABETH & MARY'
Mentioned in Northumberland will of Col. Richard Lee, part-owner.

1663 (A) 'PROVIDENCE' Mr. William Hall, Commander In the Rappahannock River at Lancaster County.

1663 (A) 'SUSAN'
Mentioned in Northumberland will of Col. Richard Lee, part owner.

1664

1665 Five "rich and valuable" Bristol ships were taken on their homeward passage "laden with rich Virginia tobacco."

1665 (A?) 'OLIVE BRANCH'
Pirate ship attached to Lt. Col. Morgan left Montserrat for Virginia

1666 Fleet in Fowey Harbor for Virginia took refuge from the Dutch.

1666, 6 Dec. Ship built in Virginia for Gawin Corbin, a London Merchant, sailed before the end of 1666 for England to bring back necessities to build and beautify the Upper Chapel of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, built on the land of Gawin's brother, Henry Corbin.

1666, Dec. 12 (D) MOST OF THE thirty ships in Bristol Harbor sailed for Virginia from Bristol on December 12; the'GOLDEN LYON' was unable to sail; the frigate 'ELIZABETH' was one of those which left, but she was burnt by the Dutch in James River.

1666, May (A) 'ALEXANDER', a large Bristolman laden with tobacco.

1667 (A) A London vessel from Virginia of 400 tons was in Plymouth harbor on March 24, 1667, with tobacco.

1667 'H.M.S. Elizabeth' Capt. Lightfoot
Guardship with 46 guns; burned by the Dutch, 1667, in James River.

1667 (A)'HANDMAID', a trading vessel

1667, Aug. 13 (D) Fleet sailed for Virginia from Plymouth.

1667, June (A) 'PRINCE WILLIAM'
A Dutchman in Chesapeake Bay

1667 (A) Four Dutch men of war and 2 fireships attacked the colony and burnt 11 ships at Point Comfort.

1668 (A) 'JOHN & FRANCIS'

1669 (A) 'ANN & JANE' of Virginia
A Brigantine, arrived Bermuda town on December 25, 1669, and sailed away on December 29.

1669 (A) 'MARIE ROSE' of Bristow
Arrived at Bermuda Town from Virginia and sailed on July 26, 1669, for Barbadoes on August 11, 1669.

1670 (A) 'ANNE' of Virginia
A brigantine, arrived at Bermuda Town on August 29, 1670, and sailed away on October ?, presumably for Virginia.

1671 (A) 'CONSTANT WILLIAM' of London
Arrived at Bermuda Castle on January 25, 1671, and sailed on May 4, 1671, for Virginia.

1671 (A) 'THOMAS & MARIE' of Virginia
Arrived at Bermuda Town on February 18, 1671, and sailed on February 24 for Barbadoes.

1671 (A) 'WILLIAM & ELLEN' Robert Morris, Master
Left London about January 23 for Virginia, thence for Bermuda.

1672, 12 Nov. (D) 'PROVIDENCE' Thomas Hadden, Master
From Falmouth; Left Plymouth, 15 January 1672/3; taken by Dutch pirates. 10 ships in same convoy bound for Virginia arrived at Piscataway.

1672/3 (D) 'BARKELY OF LONDON' Nicholas Prynne, Commander
For Virginia; met with the pirates of the 'Providence' and went to Piscataway.

1673, April 21 'BERGENS', a catch from Boston for Virginia, captured by Dutch privateer 's'LANDSWELVAREN' before the Virginia capes. Her skipper was John Cox.

1673 'PROVIDENCE' of Falmouth, pirate ship bound for Virginia; captured by 's'LANDSWELVAREN' on April 4. Mr. Henry King, mate. Thomas Rodden, Master
Passenger: Mr. Nathaniel Fryer

1673 'JOSEPH', taken by Dutch capers on return from Virginia.

1674 'THOMAS & MARY' of Virginia taken by Spaniards.

1674.

1675

1676 'VIRGINIA'
Thomas Todd of Toddsbury, Gloucester County, Va., died at sea aboard her.

1677, Jan. (A) 'CONCORD' Capt. Thomas Grantham
Ship of 32 guns at mouth of York River.

1677, April (A) 'GROCER'S ADVENTURE'
Ketch of Hull, England, arrived with bricks at Chesconessex.

*

1678, Feb. 21 (D) 'ENDEAVOUR' Abraham Newman, Commander
From Barbados
John Denton
John Wills

*

1678, March 5(D) 'EXPEDITION' John Harding, Commander
From Barbados
Job Perwidge

*

1678, March 3(D) 'VINEYARD' Henry Perrin, Commander
From Barbados
Simon Ryder

*

1678, March 3(D) Ship "begining" for Virginia Thomas Bossinger, Commander
From Barbados
William Piper

*

1679, Oct. 3 (D) 'BARBADOS MERCHANT' James Cock,
From Barbados Commander
Christopher Barton
Francis Fear
Martha Short
John Sandford

*

1679, Aug. 13 (D) 'HOPEWELL' Thomas Curle,
From Barbados Commander
A "Barq" for Virginia

*

1679, Aug. 19 (D) 'NEPTUNE' Joseph Knott,
A Ketch for Virginia from Commander
Barbados
Elinor Batler
Thomas Callay
John Corton
Gilbert Godffree
Patrick MaccDaniell
Mary Poor
Robert Pickford
Henry Sealy
Thurlo Smith
John Turdall

*

1679, May 12 (D) 'PROSPEROUS' David Fogg,
A ketch from Barbados for Virginia Commander
Katherine Arthur
Ann Box
Dennis Burne
Samuell Davies
Thomas Langton
John Finke
Luke Rainy
Francis Southworth
Mathew Whitfeild
John Wingatt
Thomas Yates

*

1679, July 22 (D) 'REBECCA' Thomas Williame,
The 'Pinke Rebecca' for Va. Commander
From Barbados
Samuell Frith
Richard Lee
John Maccenree
John Needler
Chester Pearshouse
Thomas Rule
James Richard
Thomas Scott
Thomas Stannadge
Nathaniell Verin
Edmond Welch William Willson Mathew Young

*

1679, Sept. 27 (D) 'SUPPLY' John Ady, Commander
From Barbados
Wilbert Daniell

*

1679, April 26 (D) 'UNITY' James Rainy, Commander
The Ketch 'Unity' for Virginia from Barbados
George Adamson
Margaret Anderson
Lewis Evans
Henry Lee
William Smith
Ralph Sedgwick

*

1679, Oct. 4 (D) 'VIRGIN' Thomas Allumby, Commander
James Melloly

*

1679, August 4(D) 'YOUNG WILLIAM' Thomas Cornish, Commander
From Barbados to Virginia.
Martin Bodkin
Micholas Bodkin
Richard Cawfield
William Dundas
Katherine Davies
John Emery
Henry Keith
Martin Meagle
James Rice
John Rice

1680 (A) The Barque 'MARY' of Carolina in Northumberland County, Virginia.

1681

1682 (A) A pirate ship invaded Virginia, coming to the mouth of the York, landing a party from a boat, and sacking two plantation houses; five of the pirates were captured in Rhode Island and returned to Virginia with the stolen gold. All five of the pirates became settlers in Virginia:
Harrison
Manly
And 3 others

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* on this and preceding pages indicates that (D) means departure from Barbados, and not from England as heretofore.

1683, April (A) Cook and his pirate crew arrived at Accomac with two prizes. On August 23, 1683, they left Accomac. One record says they lived on the Eastern Shore for more than a year before embarking on a voyage around the Horn to the South Seas.

1684, ante Oct. 2 (A) A ship arrived in James River with thirty servants, but no news from England, according to William Fitzhugh's letters.

1684, June (A) 'H.M.S. QUAKER' Capt. Thomas Allen Ketch and guardship; sent to Isle of Wight against pirates in 1685.

1684

1684/5, ca. (A) 'H.M.S. DEPTFORD' Capt. John Crofts Ketch and guardship, later commanded by Capt. Thomas Berry; upset in a squall in Potomac River and Berry and eight others were drowned.

1685 (A) 'PORTSMOUTH PINKE' of London

1685, ca. (A) Pirates robbed and sacked in Isle of Wight.

1686

1687

1688, ca. (A) 'H.M.S. DUMBARTON' Capt. Simon Rowe
A frigate, guardship; captured pirates in 1688 and was declared unseaworthy in 1691.

1688, 22 June (A) Pirate boat arrived in the James bearing 3 men, a negro, a quantity of plate money and other goods; the boat was captured by 'H.M.S. Dunbarton', Capt. Simon Rowe commanding. The pirate crew were identified as Edward Davis, Lionel Delawafer (the notorious pirate), John Hinson, and Peter Cleiss, negro servant to Davis; they gave £ 300 to William & Mary College to secure their freedom; Delawafer spent three years in Virginia and left for England.

1689 Ships from London were expected in Virginia; a fleet sailed from Virginia and Maryland.

1690

1691 (A) 'EXPERIENCE'
A ketch, the property of Capt. Lowry Jenkins of Elizabeth City, in a voyage from Virginia to England grounded and sank off county Cork, Ireland.

1691 'H.M.S. WOLFE'
Guardship ran aground cruising in Chesapeake Bay between York and Rappahannock Rivers, but was saved by small vessels.

1691/2, ca. Apr. 5 (D) 'EAGLE'

1691/2, ca. Apr. 5 (D) 'EXPERIMENT'

1691/2 (D) 'WOLF' Capt. Purvis, Commander
His Majesty's hired ship

1692, 1 Apr. to Sept. 23:
59 ships from Virginia to London with 1200 on board
77 ships from Virginia to outports with 900 on board

...exhibited without permission.

1692, Sept. or Oct. (D) A flyboat, Thomas Dell, Master, left Dover, but according to a letter from Deal she was bound for Virginia and was taken by the flag of the French squadron and her packets were thrown overboard.

1692, July 17 (D) 'ASSURANCE', their Majesties' ship under Capt. Isaac Townsend
Guard ship on convoy duty took 90 ships with a total burthen of 3880 tons in convoy. 1685 men and 677 guns to England.
William Dolby, boatswain, and Edward Legg, of her company, beat to death Capt. William Marshall.

1692, 24 Oct. (A) 'BISCAY MERCHANT' Luke Lopdell, Commander
Seized for illegal brandy on board.

1692, Aug. 16 (A) 'CATHERINE' of Londonderry Andrew Crookshanks Master

1692, Oct. (A) 'HENRY PRICE' not a suitable ship for his Majesty's service, in Andros's opinion.

1692, Aug. 16 (A) 'HENRY', their Majesties' ship under
In York River Captain Richard Finch

1692, June 24 (A) 'SOCIETY' of Bristol
Owned by James Twaford of Bristol and seized in Virginia, probably at James City.

ca.
1692, Apr. 21 (A) 'WILLIAM & MARY' Thomas Meech, Master
From Scotland to James City

1692, 25 Oct. (S) 'WOLF' took Lt. Governor of Virginia to England. This ship had arrived Sept. 13 at James River, from New York.

1692/3 'WOLF' Capt. George Purvis, Commander
Jeffrey Jeffrys and other merchants were owners of the 'Wolf'.

1693, April 13 'FORTUNE' of Plymouth, owned by Thomas Couch, William Lovell, Philip Wilcocks, and Robert Wilcocks of Plymouth and commanded by Philip Wilcocks Junior was seized or stopped in Virginia and her cargo withheld.

1693, December (D) Ships with 136 English seamen left London for Virginia and Maryland.

1693/4, 27 Jan. Ships riding at Point Comfort bound for England under convoy of:
'ARCHANGEL' Capt. John Hartnell (Hartwell?)
'FORESIGHT' Capt. Isaac Townsend
'HENRY PRIZE' Capt. Richard Finch

1694, 9 May Fleet at Point Comfort bound for England

1694, 23 July 17 ships, total 1926 tons, bound for England from Virginia.

1695/6, 25 Jan. (D) 'WOOLWICH' Capt. Wager, Commander His Majesty's ship took letter from King to Governor Andros.

1696, December (A) 'WILLIAM & MARY' of New York John Corbett, Commander
Grounded off Old Point Comfort, December, 1696; no lives were lost and the cargo was salvaged.

1697, April There arrived in England a convoy of 150 sail from Virginia.

1697 (A) 'ESSEX PRIZE' (H.M.S. ?) Capt. John Aldred
Guardship in Virginia from 1697-1700; in March, 1699, Capt. Aldred was ordered to be on the lookout for Kidd, the Pirate; in July, 1699, the 'Essex Prize' was attacked by the pirate John James in the 'Alexander' and was forced to withdraw from Lynnhaven Bay.

1697 (A) 'H.M.S. SWIFT'
An advice boat, ran aground in 1697 on a beach below Cape Henry. She was a total loss, although her stores were saved and sent to England.

1698, Sept. 11 6 or 10 ships in Virginia ready to sail for England.

1698 (A) 'SEVENTH SON' James Berryman, Master
A frigate of London at Hampton.

1699 'LA PAIX' seized the 'BALTIMORE' outside the Capes.

1699 (A) Capt. Kidd's ship of 42 guns and an attending sloop were off the coast of Accomac loaded with 4000 lbs. per man and 30 tons of gold; the Eastern Shoremen, Stretcher and Lewes, boarded the ship and received some of the booty.

1699 (A) 'MARYLAND MERCHANT' George Curtis, Master
An English flyboat out of Bristol, bound for its home port with a cargo of tobacco was captured by the pirate James while at anchor off the Eastern Shore.

1699, July (A) Pirate ship entered the Capes and captured 2 vessels in Lynnhaven Bay after driving off the guardship.

1699, October (A) Pirates landed on Smith's Island and killed beeves in a deserted spot well-suited for a hideout and revictualing station, according to report by Col. John Custis of Northampton County.

1699, July (A) 'ALEXANDER'
The pirate ship of Capt. John James, a Welshman from Glamorganshire, came into Lynnhaven Bay and fought the 'Essex Prize'; it captured the 'Maryland Merchant', 'Hope [illegible] of London', and 'Roanoke Merchant'.

1699 (A) 'BALTIMORE' of Bristol 100 John Loveday, Master
A pink bound from Barbados to Virginia; seized by the 'La Paix'; the pink then sailed for the Virginia capes, manned by pirates, and disappeared from the 'La Paix'. It captured subsequently the brigantine, 'Barbadoes Merchant' and the 'Wheeler'.

1699 (A) 'HOPE' of London
Captured by Capt. James, the Pirate, as it was carrying Aldred's reports to England; the information thus revealed to James disclosed the weakness of Virginia's naval defense in general and of the 'Essex Prize' in particular.

1699, July (A) 'ROANOKE MERCHANT' Nicholas Thomas Jones, Master
A sloop with passengers entered the Capes, and was fired on, and captured bythe Pirate James; John Lukas was the mate of the 'Roanoke Merchant'.

1700 (A) 'BARBADOES MERCHANT' William Fletcher, Master
A brigantine out of Liverpool, captured by pirates of the Pink 'Baltimore' but was brought by Fletcher to Accomac.

1700 (A) 'FRIENDSHIP' of Belfast
Captured by the 'La Paix'.

1700 (A) 'INDIAN KING' Edward Whittaker, Master
Taken by the 'La Paix' just outside the Capes as it was leaving for England.

1700, April (A) 'LA PAIX' Capt. Louis Guittar
A French pirate ship sailed into Lynnhaven Bay plundering; she seized nine ships in ten days; the 'La Paix' was the former 'PEACE' at Saltatudoes and was rechristened with the French name. She captured the'Indian King', the 'Friendship', and other ships.
Capt. William Passenger of the 'Shoreham' captured 100 pirates of the 'La Paix' as prisoners and took them to Elizabeth City.
On April 28, Peter Heyman was killed in an attack on the pirate Guiland (misprint for Guittar?) in Lynnhaven Bay; three pirates were hanged in Hampton.

1700, 23 Sept. (A) 'MARY & ANN' of London George Haws, Commander
Arrived at mouth of James River after 13 weeks at sea, bringing Marquis de la Muce (Muse), Mons'r de Sailly, and other French Protestant refugees to the number of 205, listed by name in Sainsbury Mss., V, 4-6.

1700, April 28 (A) 'NICHOLSON' Robert Lurten, Commander
Attacked by pirates where it was anchored with other ships in Lynnhaven Bay.

1700 'H.M.S. SHOREHAM' Capt. William Passenger
Guardship, a fifth-rate vessel of 30 guns, arrived from England in 1700; it put an end to a pirate vessel and remained 15 years in the colony. Cruising outside of the Capes in April, 1700, its Captain captured 100 pirates of the 'La Paix.'

1700 'WHEELER'
Left the York River in 1700 and was captured by the Pink 'Baltimore' and sunk.

1700, 9 June (S) CONVOY OF 57 SHIPS FROM VIRGINIA TO ENGLAND, UNDER GUARD OF CONVOY SHIP 'ESSEX PRIZE' as follows:

'ABRA.' of London, Josua. Cook, Cdr., 21 men

'ADVENTURE' of Bristow, Tho. Oppiea, Cdr., 17 men

'AMERICA', Tho. Graves, Cdr., 18 men.
of London

'AMYTT' of Whitehaven, John Ribton, Cdr., 10 men.

'ANN' of London, Benjamin Bowlen, Cdr., 25 men

'ANN & MARY' of London, Richd. Tibbots, Cdr., 22 men

'BIRD' of London, Jos. Peacock, Cdr., 15 men.

'BRISTOW' of London, Bellingham West, Cdr., 20 men.

'CUMBERLAND' of Whitehaven, George Galle, Cdr., 23 men

'DANIL. & ELIZABETH' of Jersey, Danll. Janurin, 11 men

'DEPTFFORD' of London, Richd. Sprackling, Cdr., 16 men

'DUBLIN MARCHT.' of Dublen, Robt. Ross, Cdr., 14 men

'ELIZABETH & MARY' of London, Jno. Burford, Cdr., 20 men

'EUDIAN KING' of Virginia, Edwd. Walliker, Cdr., 26 men

'EXPECTATION' of Bristow, Xpr. Seanderett, Cdr., 12 men

'FRIND SHIP' of Belfast, John Collewell, Cdr., 11 men

'GEFFREY' of London, Willm. Cooper, Cdr., 32 men

'GEORGE' of Plymouth, Jno. Kerne, Cdr., 15 men

'GLOCTER' of London, Edwd. Elles, Cdr., 23 men

'HAMAPOLIS' of Bedeford (Biddeford), Tho. Marshall, Cdr., 10 men

'HAPY SUCCESS' of Bedeford, Anto. Pearce, Cdr., 5 men

'HARWICH PRIZE' of Virginia, Jam. Jackson, Cdr., 10 men

'HOPEWELL' of Dublen, Jam. White, Cdr., 10 men

'IMPLOYMENT' of London, Char. Cook, Cdr., 16 men

'INDUSTRY' of London, Tho. Latrop, Cdr., 12 men

'JAMES' of Plymouth, Danll. Williams, Cdr., 11 men

'JAMES & ELIZABETH' of London, Tin Cook, Cdr., 20 men

'JEANE' of Dublen, Willm. Thornton, Cdr., 11 men

'JNO.' of Guernesey, Robert Slowley, Cdr., 9 men

'JNO.' of London, Jno. Panner, Cdr., 20 men

'JNO.' of Bedeforde, Tho. Leache, Cdr., 14 men

'JNO. BABLICK' of Leverpool, Mich. French, Cdr., 11 men

'JNO. & SUSANA' of Brinstow, Tho. Cooper, Cdr., 16 men

'JOSIA' of London, John Sowdon, Cdr., 17 men

'LAMB' of Dublen, Richd. Murfey, Cdr., 9 men

'LONDON ARMS' of London, John Gallon, Cdr., 20 men

'LOYALLTY' of Leverpool, Henry Brown, Cdr., 18 men

'LOYALLTY' of Barnstable, Tho. Garrett, Cdr., 6 men

'NICHOLAS' of London, Jno. Perkins, Cdr., 12 men

'NICHOLSON' of London, Robert Lurty, Cdr., 23 men

'NYTENGALLE' of Whitehaven, Abenezor Roberson, Cdr., 9 men

'OWNERS ADVENTURES' of London, Jam. Mitchell, Cdr., 18 men

'PALMTREE' of Plymouth, Willm. Lewis, Cdr., 6 men

'PHOENIX' of Bristoll, Wm. Jones, Cdr., 30 men

'REWARD' of London, Jno. Pearce, Cdr., 7 men

'ROGERS' of Plymouth, Jno. Sanders, Cdr., 10 men

'SAMLL.' of Bedeford, Tho. Canterell, Cdr., 7 men

'SARAH & SUSANA' of London, Nathll. Davis, Cdr., 8 men

'SOCIETY' of London, Richd. Tregian, Cdr., 22 men

'SPENCEWELL' of Hull, Gerr. Bentley, Cdr., 9 men

'SUSANA' of London, Jno. Coker, Cdr., 16 men

'THOMAS' of Whitehaven, Geo. Gipson, Cdr., 12 men

'THO. & ANN' of London, Jam. Henkins, Cdr., 9 men

'UNITY' of Lyme, Robert Collebert, Cdr., 16 men

'VIRGINIA MANCHANT' of Leverpool, Jam. Rotheram, Cdr., 15 men

'WILLIAM & ANN' of Fowey, John Slap, Cdr., 19 men

'WILL. & [illegible]' of Bristow, Gary Balye, Cdr., 10 men

TOTAL IN CONVOY of 9 June 1700..... 57 ships

APPENDIX V - WHITE IMMIGRANTS TO VIRGINIA LISTED BY YEARS AS DERIVED FROM THE LAND PATENTS WITH COMPARISON OF NUGENT'S STATISTICS AND GREER'S LIST OF NAMES

YEAR	NUGENT	GREER
1607	2	
1608	16	
1609	9	
1610	31	
1611	23	
1612	3	
1613	9	
1614	1	
1615	2	
1616	16	
1617	17	
1618	12	
1619	8	
1620	6	
1621	77	
1622	50	
1623	20	
1624	23	
1625	2	
1626	0	
1627	3	
1628	47	
1629	40	
1630	14	5
1631	11	
1632	1	1
1633	30	1
1634	178	2
1635	1283	926
1636	1046	770
1637	1997	1478
1638	1635	1146
1639	947	716
1640	197	167
1641	160	128
1642	1274	855
1643	931	773
1644	77	46
1645	264	150
1646	282	200
1647	295	183
1648	663	519
1649	885	504
1650	2167	1592
1651	1320	857
1652	2264	1480
1653	2952	2070
1654	2168	1498
1655	1493	886
1656	1396	545
1657	2493	2
1658	7424	0
1659	214	2
1660	533	
1661	934	
1662	1419	
1663	2456	
1664	2977	
1665	1382	
1666	1550	
1667	1	
1694		6

TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS

Nugent.....42,755

Greer.....17,508

APPENDIX VI - IMMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA BY DECADES AS BASED ON NUGENT COMPARED WITH CORRESPONDING POPULATION INCREASES

	Total Immigration	Population Increase
1610 - 1620	124	550
1620 - 1630	268 *	1,600
1630 - 1640	7,142	5,500
1640 - 1650	5,026	7,000
1650 - 1660	18,891	18,000
1660 - 1670	15,751 ?	5,000
1670 - 1680	13,500 ?	27,000
1680 - 1690	2,500 ?	5,000
1690 - 1700	7,500 ?	15,000

* Land patents for the immigrants of this period must not have been issued until after 1630.

APPENDIX VII - POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE VIRGINIA COLONY, 1607 - 1700.

1607	82-100 [1]		104 [2]			
1608	200 [3]					
1609	60 [4]	80 [5]	200 [6]	240 [7]	490 [8]	500 [9]
1610	60 [10]	350 [11]				
1611	200 [12]					

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1. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, [illegible]).

2. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 134, quoting "Percy's Observations," in Purchas, Pilgrimes, IV, 1689. Cf. Brown, Genesis, I, 166.

3. Ibid., 134, quoting Proc. of English Colonie in Va., Purchas, Pilgrimes, IV, 1719. This figure includes those brought by Capt. Newport in 1608.

4. Ibid., 134, quoting Smith, Va., II, 2. This number includes all survivors of 500 six months after Capt. Smith's departure.

5. Ibid., 134, quoting Brown, Genesis, I, 483-88, following Spelman's "Relation" of August, 1609.

6. Ibid., 134, quoting Smith, Va., I, 242. The population in two years had increased but to 200.

7. Ibid., 134, quoting Brown, Genesis, II, 611-20, relying upon Crashaw, "Epistle Dedicatorie." This figure is the population at Sir Thomas Gates's arrival in 1609.

8. Ibid., 134, quoting Smith, Works, 486. The figure is for Smith's departure in 1609.

9. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910), 7-8. He also gives figure of 60 for 1610.

10. Ibid., 8.

11. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 134, quoting Brown, First Republic, 129. "About 200 souls were found by Lord De La Ware...He brought 150, so the population must have been about 350."

12. Ibid., 134, quoting Brown, Genesis, I, 476, relying upon Lord De La Ware, "A Short Relation, June 25, 1611." Brown, First Republic, 136, quotes this figure, but thinks it too high; that Delaware must have left less than 150 persons, the decrease is due to Indian massacres and sickness.

1612	300 [13]		700 [14]	
1613	300 [15]		350 [16]	
1614	250 [17]		400 [18]	
1615				
1616	351 [19]			
1617	400 [20]			
1618	400 [21]			
1619	400 [22]	1,000 [23]	2,400 [24]	

13. Actually Condomar's report for the following year.

14. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 135, quoting Brown, Genesis, II, 646-52, relying upon letter of De Molina, May 28, 1613. Also "New Life of Virginia," in Force, Tracts, I, Tract vii, 13.

15. Ibid., 135, quoting Brown, Genesis, II, 659-62, relying upon letter of Condomar to Philip II, Oct. 5, 1613.

16. Ibid., 135, quoting Brown, Genesis, II, 646-52, relying upon letter of De Molina, May 28, 1613.

17. Ibid., 135, quoting Brown, Genesis, II, 743-46, relying upon Molina to Condomar, June 14, 1614.

18. Ibid., 135, quoting Brown, Genesis, I, 689 (Howe's Chronicle).

19. Ibid., 135, quoting Va. Hist. Reg., I, 108-10, relying upon Rolfe, "Relation of State of Virginia;" Officers and laborers, 205; farmers, 81; with women and children making a total of 351.

20. Ibid., 135, quoting Beverley, Virginia, 33.

21. Ibid., 135, quoting Virginia Historical Society Collections, VII, 64, relying upon Report of Treasurer, Abstract of Proceedings of the Virginia Company. The figure includes men, women, and children. Also, Virginia Colonial Records, 80, "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia."

22. Ibid., 135, quoting Journal, House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/9, 22. Answer of General Assembly in Virginia to a Declaration of the State of the Colonie in Virginia, April 29, 1619.

23. Ibid.,135,quoting Brown, First Republic, 308-9, quoting Sir Edwin Sandys. Figure is for Easter, 1619, but Brown, 326-9, thinks Sandys's figures about correct, as the census of March, 1620, fixed the population at 887, and less than 134 had arrived since November, 1619. He continues by citing the census of Decr., 1618, 600; arrival between Decr. & Novr. 840, making total of 1440; 500 had died, leaving 900 alive.

24. Ibid., 135, quoting Calendar of State Papers, Col.Ser:

1620	887 [25]	2,200 [26]				
1621	843 [27]	4,000 [28]				
1622	400-500 [29]	1,240 [30]	1,258 [31]			
1623	1,277 [32]	1,700 [33]	1,800 [34]	2,500 [35]		
1624	1,065 [36]	1,200 [37]	1,202 [38]	1,212 [39]	1,232 [40]	1,253 [41]

25. Greene & Harrington, American Population, 135, quoting Brown, First Republic, 328-329. This is the census figure.
26. Ibid., 135, quoting Force, Tracts, III, Tract v, 5, "A Declaration of the State of the Colonie in Virginia," by the Virginia Council. 1,200 persons have come this year and 1,000 remain of those who had come before. Also Purchas, Pilgrimes, IV, 1775.
27. Ibid., 135, quoting Brown, First Republic, 415. This is the number of "English people" by the census of 1621.
28. Ibid., 135, quoting Virginia Historical Society Collections, VII, 144, for Petition of Virginia Company to Lords of Council.
29. Egerton Manuscripts, Library of Congress, 2395.
30. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 135, quoting Brown, First Republic, 464, giving number of English people by census of March, 1622.
31. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910), 150.
32. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 135, quoting "List of the Living in Virginia, February 16, 1623-4," Virginia Colonial Records, 37-54. Cf. Calendar of State Papers; Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1675-6, III, 57, No. 2.
33. Ibid., 135, quoting from John Wroth writing in 1623 in Brown, Genesis, II, 1064.
34. Ibid., 136, quoting Purchas, Pilgrimes, IV, 1792, based on Virginia Company's reports asserting that 1,800 persons survived the massacre and pestilence.
35. Ibid., 135, quoting Virginia Historical Society Collections, VII, 193, for Abstract of Proceedings of Virginia Company, Answer to Capt. Butler, May 7, 1623.
36. Mary Newton Stanard, Colonial Virginia (Philadelphia, 1917), 43.
37. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Chalmers Collection, Virginia, I, 27, New York Public Library, for "A Brief Declaration of the State of Virginia in February, 1624-5" by Capt. John Harvey. Of this number 700 were "able men."
38. Ibid., 144. Total omitting French is 1,227 minus 25, negroes & Indians.
39. John Camden Hotten, Original Lists (N.Y.,1931) 201-65. Figure arrived at by author's count of Hotten's list.
40. Ibid., 201-65. Va.Mag.of Hist. & Biog.,VIII(1900-1), 361-367. Greene & Harrington, op.cit., 144.
41. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, 143, quoting Calendar of State Papers, III, 57, No. 2, for "List of the living." From the total figure of 1,275, author has deducted 22.

1625	1,200 [42]	1,227 [43]	1,800 [44]
1626			
1627			
1628	3,000 [45]		
1629	4,000-5,000 [46]		
1630	2,500 [47]	3,000 [48]	
1631			
1632			
1633			
1634	4,909 [48a]	4,914 [49]	5,000 [50]

42. Greene & Harrington, American Population, 136, quoting Chalmers Collection, Virginia, New York Public Library, I, 27, for "A Brief Declaration of the State of Virginia in February, 1624-5," by Capt. John Harvey. Of these, 700 were "able men."
43. Ibid., 136, 144, quoting Brown, First Republic, 617-27. From this figure must be subtracted the 2 Indians and 23 negroes.
44. Author's figure from unknown source.
45. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1574-1660, IV, 69, No. 45, for Letter from Governor, Council, and Burgesses to King, March 26, 1628. Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (2vols., New York, 1896), I, 287. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXV (1917), 348.
46. Ibid., 136, quoting Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1574-1660, V, 100, No. 24, for "Relation of the Present State of Virginia," by Capt. Will. Perse (Peirce?).
47. Ibid., 136, quoting Chalmers Collection, Virginia, New York Public Library, I. Also Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1574-1660, V, 117, No. 95, for Governor Harvey to the Privy Council, May 29, 1630.
48. A. D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts (1603-1714) (London, 1932), 151.
48a. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 145, corrected by author.
49. Ibid., 145. Erroneous addition of 1634. Also, Ibid., 136, relying on Virginia Colonial Records, 91.
50. Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (2 vols., New York, 1896), I, 319.

	51	52	53	51a
1635	4,914	5,114	5,119	5,000
1636				
1637				
1638				
1639				
1640				
1641				
1642	Under 10,000 54			
1643				
1644	11,000 55			
1645	5,000 56			
1646				
1647				
1648	15,000 57			

51. Ibid., 319-320. Apparently Bruce has merely applied the 205 increase from the Bermudas (since census) subtractively to the census to get the number of inhabitants before the census.
52. 205 from Bermuda added to 4,909 of census.
53. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America & W.I., 1574-1660, VII, 201, No. 55 and Chalmers Collection, Virginia, I, 18, New York Public Library.
51a. A.D. Innes, The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts (1603-1714) (London, 1932).
54. William & Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, VII, (1898-9), 66.
55. David Pietersz. De Vries, Voyages from Holland to America, A.D. 1632 to 1644 (Henry C. Murphy translation, New York, 1853), 186.
56. W.W. Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large (13 vols., Richmond, 1809-23), I, 308.
57. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting "A Perfect Description of Virginia," in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, IX, 105.

1649	15,000 [58]	16,000 [59]
1650		
1651		
1652	A few thousand [60]	20,000 [61]
1653	15,744 [62]	13,740 [61a]
1654	15,744 [63]	
1655		
1656		
1657		
1658		

58. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Virginia under the Stuarts (Princeton, 1914), 114. Also, The First Americans, 313.
59. Mary Newton Stanard, Colonial Virginia, its People and Customs (Philadelphia, 1917), 49.
60. Matthew Page Andrews, Virginia, the Old Dominion (New York, 1937), 133-134, citing others.
61. John Burk, History of Virginia (4 vols., Petersburg, 1804-16), II, 81, citing Robertson & Chalmers.
61a. Author's computation from a total of 3,435 tithables listed by Greene & Harrington, American Population, 136 and 145-6, following Journal, House of Burgesses, 1619-58/59, 88-89.
62. Author's computation from a total of 3,936 tithables in 1653/4 obtained by adding to the 3,435 an additional 501 tithables for Lancaster County for 1654 listed in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897), 158-169.
63. See note above, based on 1653 census plus Lancaster tithables for 1654. This computation still lacks returns from Henrico, Warwick, and York counties, as well as the newly-formed Westmoreland. If population had remained stationary in the first three since since the 1634 census, the population of the colony would then be approximately 17,500. 15,744 is given as a minimum figure.

1659	80,000 [64]	
1660	30,000 [65]	
1661		
1662	40,000 [66]	
1663	40,000 [67]	
1664		
1665	80,000 [68]	40,000 [69]
1666		
1667		
1668		
1669		

64. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1661-68, 350, No. 1110 quoted in Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 3

65. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Bancroft, I, 151-2.

66. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The First Americans, 1607-1690 (New York, 1938), 313.

67. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Sir William Berkeley, Discourse of Virginia, 6, who makes this estimate in a discussion of Virginia's commerce.

68. Ibid., 136, 3, relying upon Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1661-68, 350, No. 1110.

69. Ibid., 136, quoting Yonge, Site of Old James Towne, 30, citing Winder Papers, I, 187.

1670	38,000 [70]	
1671	38,000 [71]	40,000 [72]
1672		
1673		
1674		
1675	50,000 [73]	
1676		
1677	15,000 (men?) [74]	
1678		
1679		
1680		
1681	80,000-100,000 [75]	67,000-77,000 [76]
1682	60,648 [77]	
1683		
1684		

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70. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (Charlottesville, 1910), 160, 208. John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (2 vols., Boston, 1900), II, 13.
71. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, II, 515, for a figure of 40,000 persons, men, women, and children, including 6,000 Christian servants for a short time and from which total the 2,000 black slaves have been subtracted.
72. This figure is quoted by Mary Newton Stanard, Colonial Virginia, its People and Customs (Philadelphia, 1917), 49. See note above.
73. Greene & Harrington, op. cit., 136, quoting Repr. of Agents to King, in Chalmers, Annals, I, 338.
74. Ibid., 137, quoting Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1677-80, 19, No. 55, for petition of Sir John Berry and Col. Moryson to Mr. Watkins.
75. Ibid., 137, quoting Va. Mag. Hist., XXV, 373, citing Col. Entry Book, No. 106, pp. 297-8 for belief of Capt. Morris.
76. Ibid., 137, quoting Lord Culpeper to Lords of Trade, in Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser.: Am. & W.I., 1681-5, 157, No. 320. From Lord Culpeper's figure of 70,000-80,000, including 15,000 servants, 3000 blacks have been subtracted by author.
77. Ibid., 137, quoting Jrnl., House[illegible],176-83. Ibid., 145

1685			
1686			
1687			
1688	50,000 [78]		
1689			
1690			
1691			
1692			
1693			
1694			
1695			
1696	76,264 [79]		
1697	70,000 [80]	80,000 [81]	
1698	81,092 [82]		
1699	58,000 [83]	86,424 [84]	
1700	97,164 [85]	100,00086	Under 80,000 [87]

78. Greene & Harrington, American Population, 137, 3, quoting Bancroft, I, 602, or II, 175, in 1879,ed.
79. Multiplier of 4 applied to 19,566 tithables, ibid.,137 quoting Colonial Office Papers 5: 1309, No. 16, fol. 73 in Library of Congress Transcripts giving Gov. Andros's Ans. Quer., April 22, 1697; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1696-7, 455, No. 956.
80. Ibid., 137, quoting Colonial Office Papers, 5: 1309, No. 24, fol. 161 in Library of Congress Transcripts; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, 1696-7, 530, No. 1131. The estimate appears to be Greene's.
81. Multiplier of 4 applied to 20,000 tithables, ibid., 137 quoting Col. Hartwell, Ans. Quer, Sept. 13, 1697, Colonial Office Papers 5: 1309, No. 30, fol. 143.
82. Multiplier applied to 20,523 tithables, ibid., 137, q quoting Gov. Nicholson to Board of Trade, July 1, 1699, CO 5: 1310, No. 39, fol. 319; 1312, fol. 143.
83. Ibid., 137, quoting Brit.Mus.Add.Mss.,30372;Dexter Hist. Papers, 171.
84. Multiplier applied to 21,606 tithables, ibid., 137, 145-6 quoting Col. Off. Papers 5:1312,No. 19;CSPC,1701,635, No. 1040, XI. Sds. [illegible], quoting Tucker, U.S., I, 54
85. Ibid., 137; 24,[illegible] tithables; quoting CO 5:1312, No.2,III.
86. Estimates of various authors in round numbers.

APPENDIX VIII - NOTE ON "SPIRITING" TO THE COLONIES

There would seem to be little doubt that the use of the word "spirit" and of the expression, "spirit away" to imply mysterious disappearance had its origin in mid-seventeenth century England in connection with abduction of persons by shipmasters and others seeking servants for the colonies. The New English Dictionary, IX, Part I (Oxford, 1919), 620, contains the following references to the term:

SPIRIT

II.5. To carry off or away, to make away with or remove in a mysterious manner (or dexterous): * a. to kidnap, in order to transport to the plantations in America. Obs. Cf. 6a

1666 Lond.Gaz.No.107/1 Several persons escaped from the Vessel, who pretend they were spirited, (as they term it) and invited upon several pretenses aboard them, and then ...carried away. a. 1683 Oldham Wks. (1686) 85 These serve for Baits the simple to ensnare, Like Children spirited with Toys at Fair 1693. I. Mather. Cases Consc. (1862) 241 A Servant, who was Spirited or Kidnapt (as they call it) into America.

b. In general use. First use 1670.

6. With away (Cf. 5): a. to Kidnap, carry off, or abduct (a person).

Freq. c. 1670- c. 1690, with reference to transporting boys to the West Indian plantations: cf. 5a.

1670 Marvell Corr. Wks (Grosart) II 323 An Act...against spiriting away Children beyond Sea. 1682 Lond. Gaz. 1723/4 For Spiriting or Stealing away a Young Boy, and sending him to Jamaica. 1697 Dampier Voy. (1729) I. 178 We anchor'd and sent.. to treat about an Exchange for our Man they had spiribed away. 1749 Fielding Tom Jones I ix Some.. intimated, that she was spirited away with a design too black to be mentioned. 1769 Blackstone Comm. IV. 219 In the civil law, the offence of spiriting away and stealing men and children..was punished with death. 1820 Scott Monast. Iv, She was sensible that he would have neither scruple nor difficulty in spiriting away the child. 1858 Froude Hist Eng. III xvii. 449. The archbishop spirited away the preacher into Kent. 1883 Law Rep. II Q.B.D. 592 The prosecutor had spirited away..the sister of the accused person, and had shut her up in a convent. fig. 1688 Crowne Darius v. Wks. 1874 III 449 What is it spirits me away to fear?

APPENDIX IX - NOTE ON STATUTES RELATING TO "POOR," "VAGRANTS," "PRISONERS," AND PERSONS TO BE TRANSPORTED TO THE COLONIES.

The authority for the following items relating to undesirable persons in Tudor and Stuart England is An Exact Abridgment of all the Statutes in Force and Use from Magna Charta, 9 H. 3. to the Beginning of the Reign of King George (6 vols., London), Volume I (1725) by Edward Mayer, Esq. and printed by His Majesty's Printers.

VAGRANTS

Stat. 39 El. 4. Vagrants, Rogues, Beggars & Poor People. If any such Rogue seem dangerous or will not be reformed, 2 Justices of the Peace (one a Quorum) shall commit him to the House of Correction; and if at the next Quarter-Sessions by the more part of the Justices there he shall not be thought fit to be delivered, he shall by them be banished, at the charge of that county shall be conveyed to such Parts beyond the Seas, as shall by six or more of the Privy Council forthat purpose be assigned, whereof the Lord Keeper or Treasurer to be one; or otherwise adjudged to the Gallies of the Realm as thesaid Justices shall think fit. And if a Rogue so banished return without licence he shall suffer as a Felon to be tried in the County where he shall be apprehended.

Stat. 1 Jac. I. 7.
Instead of banishing an incorrigible Rogue, or committing him to the Gallies (as was ordained by 39 El. 4) he shall in open Sessions be branded on the left Shoulder with a burning Iron having a great Roman R upon it as broad as a Shilling; and from thence shall be sent to the Place of his last Dwelling; and if that cannot be known, to the Place of his Birth: After which Time, if he offend again, he shall suffer as a Felon without Benefit of Clergy.

Stat. 7 Jac. I. 4.
There shall be an House of Correction in every shire to set Rogues and other idle People to work.

No furtner references to "Rogues" down to 1700.

No reference to "Prisoners" to the colonies under James I, Charles I, or Charles II. However the 1666 statute should be included, providing for transportation (see page 118, supra).

APPENDIX X - PARLIAMENTARY ADHERENTS NOTED BY LORD CLARENDON IN HIS HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND WITH FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THEIR SURNAMES AMONG VIRGINIA IMMIGRANTS

Parliamentary Adherent	Remarks	Va. Surname	No. Colonists
ANDREWS, Thomas	Sheriff London, 1642	Andrew(e)s	28
ARMYN, Sir William	Prlmtry. Commr., 1643	Armond	1
ASCHAM, _____	Killed at Madrid, 1650	Ascom	1
BALFOUR, Sir William	Prlmtry. Cmdr., Edgehill		0
BAREBONE, Praise-God	M.P., Spkr., 1653		0
BASTWICK, Dr. John	Captured, 1642, by R's	Bastwicke	1
BATTEN, Capt. Wm.	Rear-Adm. Flt., 1648	Batten	3
BOYLE, Roger, Lord	Took Munster for Parlmt.	Boyle	1
BRADSHAW, John	Regicide, 1649	Bradshaw	9
BRENT, Sir Nathaniel	Presb. Commr., 1647	Brent	10
BRERETON, Sir Wm.	Prlmtry. Ldr. Chesh., 1644	Brereton	3
BULLER, Sir Richd.	M.P., East Cornwall, 1643	Buller	2
CAREW, Sir Alexr.		Carew	5
CAREY, John, Visc.	At Edgehill, 1642	Carey	10
CECIL,		Cecill	1
COBBETT, Col.	Imprnd. by Monk, 1659	Cobbett	1
COOPER, Sir A.Ashley	Prlmtry. Cdr. Tower, 1660	Cooper	25
COOTE, Sir Charles	Defender Lndndry., 1650	Coote	7
COPLEY, Col.	Def. Digby, Sherborne, 1645	Copley	1
COTTERELL, Col.	Govr. Pontefract, 1648	Cotterell	4
CREED, Major	Fanatic, capt. 1660	Creed	1
CROFTS, Mr. Wm.	Prlmtry. apt., 1642	Crofts	2
CROMWELL, Oliver	LORD PROTECTOR, 1653	Cromwell	1
DACRES, Lord	Prlmtry. peer, 1643	Dacres	0
DANVERS, Sir John	Deserted to Parlmt. 1649	Danvires	1
DEERING, Sir Edward	Anti-Sp. M.P., 1642	Deering	4
DEVEREUX, Lobt. 3d E.	Prlmtry. Ldr.	Devorax	1
DOWNING, Dr.	Prlmtry. Chapln., 1642	Downing	5
EARLE, Sir Walter	Besieged Corfe, 1643	Earle	4
ERSKIN, Sir Charles	Prlmtry. Commr., Uxbr., 1644		0
ESSEX, Col. Charles	Slain Edgehill, 1642	Essex	3
EVRE, Col.	Custodian of King, 1648		0
FAIRFAX, Ferdinando	General in Yorkshire, 1643	Fairefax	2
FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas	Prlmntrn. York, 1643		
FETTYPLACE, Genl.	Pris. Cirencester, 1643	Fettyplace	1
FIELDING, Basil 2d E.	Prlmntrn. Edgehill, 1642	Feilding	1
FIENNES, Col. John	Besieged Banbury, 1644	Fines	1
FIENNES, Nathaniel	Keeper Great Seal, 1659		
FLEETWOOD, Charles	Prlmtry. Genl, 1659	Fleetwood	5
FOULKE, _____	Accused Treason, 1643	Fouke	1
GELL, Sir John	Routed Hopton-Heath, 1643	Gell	0
GEORGE, Mr.	M.P. Cirencester; P, 1643	George	13
GOFFE, Col.	Adh. Richd. Cromwell, 1659	Goffe	11
GRANTHAM, Col.	Prlmntrn. Edgehill, 1642		0
GRENVILLE, Lobt. 2d L.	Prlmtry. Govr. Warw., 1642	Greville	0
GREY, Thomas Lord	Cdr. Leics., 1643	Grey	23
GUNTER, Col.	K Chalgrave, 1643	Gunter & Gunther	1

P signifies prisoner; K signifies killed.

HALES, Sir Edward	Prlmntrn. Kent, 1648	Hales	6	
HAMDEN, John	For Parlmt., Edgehill, 1642	Hampton	10	
HAMDEN, Col.	Wounded Chalgrave, 1643			
HAMMOND, Col.	Custodn. of King, 1648	Ham(m)ond	19	
HARRISON, Maj. Gen.	Took King fm. Hurst, 1648	Harrison	26	
HARVEY, _____	Cdr. of Horse, 1643	Harvey	15	
HASLRIG, Sir Arthur	Cdr. Army, 1659		0	
HERBERT, Philip 4th.	S. Prlmntry. Comr. Uxbr. 1644	Herbert	11	
HEWSON, Col.	Parlmtry. Officer, 1660	Hewson	1	
HOLLIS, Denzil	Lieut. Bristol, 1642	Hollis	7	
HORNER, Sir John	For Parlmt. Somerset, 1642	Horner	3	
HORTON, Col.	For Parlmt. Donnington, 1644	Horton	11	
HOTHAM, Sir John	Govr. Hull, 1643; beheaded, 1645	Hotham	0	
HUNTINGTON, Maj.	Prlmntry. Officer, 1647	Huntington	2	
INGOLDSBY, Col.	Adherent R. Cromwell, 1659		0	
IRETON, Henry	Independent ldr., 1646		0	
JARVIS, Col.	Parlmtry. Officer, 1644	Jarvis	5	
JEPHSON, Capt.	Captured, 1644	Jefferson	6	
JOYCE, cornet	Seized Charles I, 1647	Joyce	11	
LAMBERT, Charles	Army leader	Lambert	8	
LANGHAM, John	Sheriff London, 1642	Langham	1	
LANGHORN, Col.	Prlmntry. officer Salop, 1644 (and R.W.)		0	
LAWSON, Vice-Adm.	Decl. for Parlmt., 1660	Lawson	14	
LENTHALL, William	Spkr. Parlmt., 1654	Lent(h)all	4	
LOCKHART, _____	Govr., Dunkirk, 1658		0	
LUDLOW, _____	Commdr. Ireland, 1653	Ludlow(e)	6	
MANNERING,	Schismatic, 1643	Mannering	?	
MARTIN, Henry	Indep. ldr., 1645	Martin	31	
MASSEY, Col.	Gov. Gloucester, 1643	Mass(e)y	7	
MERRICK, Sir John	Prlmntry. Genl. Ordn., 1643	Merrick	6	
MIDDLETON, Col.	Deftd. by Lucas, 1643	Middleton	9	
MILDMAY, Sir Henry	Regicide, 1649	Milday	1	
MITTON, Col.	Seized Shrewsbury, 1644		0	
MORLEY, Col.	Prlmntry. officer, 1644	Morley	9	
MOUNTAGUE, Adm. Edw.	Admiral with Blake, 1652	Montague	?	
MOUNTAGUE, Edw., 2d E.	Manchester; Prlmntry. ldr.			
MORTON, Col.	Prlmntry. officer, 1644	Morton	21	
ONSLOW, Col.	Prlmntry. officer, 1644	Onslow	1	
OVERTON, _____	Commr. of Army, 1659	Overton	5	
PAGET, William Lord	Lord Lieut. Bucks, 1642	Pa(d)get(t)	7	
PENNINGTON, Isaac	Lord Mayor of London, 1642	Penington	2	
PETERS, Hugh	Chaplain of the Hothams, 1645	Peter(s)	13	
PIERREPOINT,	Prlmntry. Commr. Uxbr.	Pearepoint	1	
POINTZ, Alexander	Routed King's horse, Chester, 1645		0	
POPHAM, Col. Edw.	For Parlmt. Somerset, 1642		0	
POPHAM, Lt. Genl.	Prlmntry. Naval Officer, 1644			
PORTER, Col.	Joined Parlmt., 1645	Porter	19	
POWELL, Col.	Prlmntry. cdr., S. Wales, 1648	Powell	39	
POYER, Capt.	Prlmntry. govr., Pembroke, 1648	Powre	1	
PRETTY,	Prlmntry. Cdr. Horse, 1642	Priddy	1	
PRIDEAUX, _____	Prlmntry. Cmr. Uxbridge		0	
PRYN, William	Prlmntry. Cmr. for Oxfd., 1647	Prynn	1	
PYM, John	Leader of Parliament	Pymm	1	
PYNE, John	For Parlmt. Somerset, 1644	Pyne	1	
RAINSBOROUGH, Col.	Seamen revolted from him to King	Raynbeare	1	

RAMSEY, _____	Comdr. Horse, Edgehill,1642	Ramsey	8
RATNOLDS, Robert	Sent by Parlmt. to Ireld.,1643	Reynolds	19
RHODES, Sir Edward	Prlmtry agt., 1643	Rhodes	3
RICH, Col.	Troops of Horse,Kingston,1648	Rich	10
ROBERTS, John S.	For Parlmt.Edgehill,1642	Roberts	35
ROLFE, _____	Cromwellian agitator, 1648	Rolfe(ph)	4
ROSSITER, _____	Commander Lincoln Forces, 1645		0
ROSWELL, Col.	Defdd.Lichfld.vs.Rupt.,1643	Roswell	1
RUSSELL,Wm.5th E.	Twice a turncoat	Russell	18
RUTHEN,	Prlmtry.govr.Plymouth,1643		0
ST. JOHN, Oliver	Prlmtry.commr.Uxbridge,1644	St. John	2
ST. JOHN,Oliv.Ld.	Killed Edgehill, 1642		
SANDYS, Col.	Killed Powick Bridge,1642	Sandys	5
SEELY, _____	Agitator in Army, 1658		0
SHEFFIELD, Col.	Prisoner Chalgrave, 1643	Sheffield	4
SKIPPON,Maj-Gen.Philip	Intercepted Cornwl.1644		0
STAINES, Dr.	Qrtrmstr.-Genl.,1647	Staines	1
STAPLETON, Sir Philip	Prlmntry.Yorks.,1642	Stapleton	1
STRICKLAND, _____	Prlmtry.agt.,Nolld.,1646	Strickland	1
STROUD, William	Accused by King of treason,1641	Stroud	3
THURLOW, John	Cromwell's secretary, 1655	Thurloe	1
TICHBURN,	Officer London militia,1659		0
TOMLINSON, Col.	Custodn.,Charles I, 1649	Tomlinson	4
UMFY, Col. (also Murrey)	Twice a turncoat; exec. 1650		0
VANE, Sir Henry	Parlmtry. Commr. Uxbr.,1644	Vane	1
VINES, _____	Prlmtry.Commr.Uxbr.,1644	Vines	2
WALLER,Sir Wm.	Prlmtry.Cmdr.,1642-44	Waller	6
WALTON,	Prlmtry. Cmmr. Army,1659	Walton	11
WARE, Col.	Regt. foot, Devon, 1643	Ware	13
WARNEFORD,	Prisoner Cirencester,1643		0
WEBBER,	Prisoner Crèprady Bridge,1644		0
WHALEY, Col.	Custodn. of King, 1648	Whal(e)y	2
WHARTON, Philip Ld.	Prlmtry. Peer, 1642	Wharton	2
WHITEHEAD, Col.	Prlmtry.Troops Basing House	Whitehead	8
WHITLOCK,Bulstrode	Prlmtry. Commr. Uxbr.,1644	Whitlock(e)	3
WILD,	Ch. Baron Exchequer, 1647	Wild	7
WINGATE, Capt.	Capt. Worcester, 1642	Wingate	3

TOTALS 132 surnames 734 possible Puritan colonis colonists

106 of 132 surnames appear in Virginia

61.2% of surnames are represented in Virginia

Average of 6.7 colonists per surname.

APPENDIX XI - ROYALISTS IN THE CIVIL WAR LISTED IN HISTORICAL NOTES OR MENTIONED BY LORD CLARENDON IN HIS HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND, WITH FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THEIR SURNAMES AMONG VIRGINIA COLONISTS LISTED BY NUGENT.

Royalist	Remarks	Va. Surname	No. Colonists
APPLETON, Sir Henry	Prisoner, 1648	Appleton	2 6
ARUNDEL, Col.Richd.	Ennobled for services to King Ar(r)undel		
ASHBURNHAM, Col. John	King's confidant,1646-7	Ashburnham	1
ASHLEY, Sir Jacob	Wounded Edgehill, 1642	Ashley	13
ASTON, Sir Arthur	Wounded, 1642	Aston	12
BALL, Sir Peter	Devonshire R, 1645	Ball	11
BAMFIELD, Col.	R, 1648	Bamfield	1
BANKS, Sir John	Ld.Ch.Just.,1643	Banks	8
BARD, Sir Henry	Covr.Cambden House,1645	Bard	3
BASSET, Sir Arthur & Sir Thos.	Maj-Gen.Cornish	Bassett	5
BELASYSE, Col. John	P, 1644	Bellowes & Belasyse	2
BENNET, Sir Thos.	Visc.Fauconbg,1642-3	Belois	
BENNET, Sir Henry	Ambdr. Madrid, 1658		
BERKLEY, Sir Humphrey	2d Battle Newbury, 1644	Bennett	31
BERTIE, Sir John	R, 1643	Berkeley	4
BLUNT, Robt. E.Lindsy.	Wounded Edgehill, 1642		0
BOLES, Sir Charles	Scout-master-Genl.,1644	Blunt	8
BOLTON, Col.	Killed Alton, 1644	Boles & Bowles	10
BOOTH, Sir Richard	Chancellor Ireland,1643	Bolton	7
BOSWELL, Sir George	Seized Chester for King,1659	Booth	6
BOTELER, Sir William	King's resid. Holld,1648	Boswell	8
BOUCHIER, Sir William	Killed Cropredy Bridge,1644	Butler	21
BOVILE, George	Hanged for royalist plot,1643	Boucher	5
BOYS, Col.	R, 1645		0
BRAMSTON, Sir John	Donnington Castle,1643	Boys	8
BRETT, Capt. Edward	Ch.Just.,1642	Bramston	1
BRIDGES, Capt.	Comdr. in West,1644	Brett	6
BRIDGES, Major	Comdr.Irish horse,1644	Bridges	15
BRIDGMAN, Sir Orlando	cDrowned in Avon, 1644 R in Chester, 1643	Bridgman	4
BROWN, Bushell	Put to death, 1651	Brown	59
BUCK, Col. Sir Brutus	K Bristol, 1643	Buck	9
BUNKLY, Lt. Col.	At Basing House, 1644	Bunkley	1
BUNKLY, officer			
BURLEY, Capt.	R, Isle of Wight;exec.1647	Burleigh	4
BUTLER, Gen.	Munster rebel, 1641-2	Butler(v.Boteler)	
BYRON, Sir John	R, 1643-4		
BYRON, Sir Nich. & Sir Thos.	Wounded Edgehill	Byron	2
CAMPION, Col.	R, 1645	Campion	3
CAPEL, Arthur Lord	Beheaded, 1648	Capel	8
CAREY, Henry Ld. Hunsdon	R, 1642		
CAREY, Henry E. Monm.	R, 1642		
CARY, Lucius Visc.Falkland	K Newbury, 1643	Car(e)y	15

R signifies Royalist; K signifies killed; W signifies wounde
P signifies Prisoner.

CARTWRIGHT, Sir George	Commander, Jersey, 1649	Cartright	1
CAVENDISH, William	Impeached, 1642		0
CAVENDISH, Wm. E. Newc.	R, 1642-4		0
CHALLONER,	Conspirator, 1643		0
CHILLINGWORTH, William	P at Arundel, 1643-4		0
CHOLMONDELEY, Sir Hugh	Revolted to King, 1643	Chumbly	1
CHUDLEIGH, Sir George	K, 1643	Chitley	1
CHUDLEIGH, James	Revolted to King, 1643		
CLARK, Sir William	K Cropredy Bridge, 1644	Clark	38
CLIFFORD, Henry E. Cumbld.	Commdr. in Yorks., 1642	Clifford	4
COLEPEPER, Sir John	R, 1642	Culpeper	5
COOKSIN, Capt.	Taken Devizes, 1643	Cookin	1
COMPTON, Spencer, E. Nthton.	Cdr. SaltHeath, 1642-3		
COMPTON, Sir William	P Colchester, 1648	Compton	5
CONIERS, Sir John	Lieut. Tower, 1642	Coniers	5
COTTINGTON, Sir Francis	Ambdr. of King, 1645	Cottington	1
COURTNEY, Sir Wm.	R Cdr., 1645	Courtney	2
CRISP, Sir Nicholas	London Royalist, 1643	Crispe	7
DAVENANT, Sir William	Queen's agt., 1646	Davenant	1
D'EWS, Lt. Col.	K Reading, 1643	Dewes	1
DIGBY, George Lord	R, 1642		
DIGBY, John, E. Bristol	R, 1642-3		
DIGBY, Col. Sir John	R, Sheriff Notts., 1642-3		
DIGBY, Kenelm	K St. Neots, 1648	Digby	5
DIVES, Sir Lewis	R in Dorset, 1642		0
DODDINGTON, Sir Francis	Troop at Bridgewater, 1644		0
DORMER, Robt. Ld. Carnarvon	K Newbury, 1643	Dormer	1
DYER, Sir Lodowick	P, 1648	Dyer	7
ELLIOT, Thomas	R, 1642	Elliott	16
ELLISON, _____	Aided King's esc. Norc.	Ellison	3
ENNIS, Lt. Col.	P, 1648	Ennis	1
ERRINGTON, (servt)	Leicester's man, 1642	Errington	1
EVELYN, Sir John	R, 1642	Evelin	5
EYRES, Capt.	Taken at Devises, 1643	Eyres	5
FANSHAW, Mr.	Sec. of Council, 1645	Fanshaw	0
FARR, Lt. Col.	Rebel Colchester, 1648	Farr	5
FERN, Henry	King's Commr. Wxbr., 1644	Fearne	1
FIELDING, Col. Richard	Commdr. Reading, 1643	Feilding	1
FORD, Sir Edward	Held Arundel, Sussex, 1644	Ford	9
FORTESCUE, Sir Faithful	Joined Rupert, 1642	Fortescue	1
FOUNTAIN, Mr.	Loyal London lawyer, 1644	Fountaine	1
GAGE, Col.	Govr. of Oxford, 1644	Gage	7
GARDINER, Sir Thomas	Solicitor-Genl., 1643	Gardiner	21
GARRAWAY, Capt.	R Lostwithiel, 1644	Garraway	1
GASCOIGNE, Sir Bernard	(a Florentine) Essex Reb.	Gascoigne	4
GERRARD, Col. Charles	W Edgehill, 1642	Gerrard	11
GLEMHAM, Sir Thomas	Govr. York, 1644		
GODOLPHIN, Sidney	K Devon, 1643		0
GODOLPHIN,			0
GORING, Col. George	Genl. Horse; deftd. Langport, 1645		
GORING, George, Lord	Attended Queen, 1644	Goring	1
GORING, George, E. Norwich	Reb. Kent & Essex, 1648		

GOURNEY, Sir Richard	Loyal Mayor London,1642	Gurney	1
GORE, Col.	Regt. Dragoons,1643	Gore,Gower	10
GRANDISON, Lord	K Bristol, 1643	Grandinson	1
GRENVIL, Sir Bevil	K Lansdowne, 1643		
GRENVIL, Sir John	W Newbury, 1644		
GRENVIL, Sir Richard	Officer, 1645	Greenfell	1
FIELDING, William E. Denbigh; Kup's volunt.KB		Irmingham	v.supra
GREY, Anchetil	R Dorset, 1645	Grey	23
GROVE, Hugh	Rebel beheaded, 1655	Grove	3
HALES, grandson of Sir	Edw. Kentish R, 1648	Hales	6
HAMPDEN, Alexander	R plotter, 1643	Hampton	10
HAMILTON, James 3d Marquis	R of dubious loyalty	Hamilton	5
HAMMOND, Dr. Henry; R	chaplain; uncle Col.H.	Hammond	16
HARDING, Mr.	Groom of Bedchamber,1644	Harding	12
HASSEL,	King's messenger, 1643	Hassall	2
HASTINGS, Henry,Ld.	Loughborough P 1648	Hastings	1
HASTINGS, Col. Henry	At Edgehill, 1642		
HASTINGS, Sir Walter	R Governor Portland,1645		
HATTON, Sir Christopher	R Commr. Uxbr., 1644	Hatton	8
HAWKINS, Col.	Regt. in Oxfd.,1644	Hawkins	17
HAWLEY, Sir Francis	R, 1642	Hawley	10
HAY, Sir Francis	Executed, 1650	Hay	4
HERBERT, Sir Edward	Intimate of Rupert,1648	Herbert	11
HERBERT, Edw.E.Glamorgan	Irish treaty, 1645		
HEWET, Dr.	Gave money to King; exec.1658	Hewitt	15
HEYDON, Sir John	Lt. of Ordnance, 1642	Hayden	4
HINCHMAN, Dr.	Aided Ch.II after Worc.	Hinchman	1
HOLLES, John 2d E.Clare	At Oxfd., 1643	Hollis	7
HOPTON, Sir Ralph	Genl. of Cavalry,1642-6	Hopton	1
HOWARD, Chas. Visc. Andover	Impeached, 1642	Howard	18
HOWARD, Col. Thos. E. Arundel	Genl. Cavlry.1643		
HUDLESTON, _____	Aided Ch.II's esc.Worc.	Hudleston	1
HUDSON, _____	Ch.I's guide to Scots,1646	Hudson	17
HUTTON, Sir Richard	High Sheriff Yorks,1645	Hutton	8
HYDE, Sir Edw.Ld.Clarendon	R historian	Hyde	?
HYDE, Sir Robt.	Gave refuge to Ch.II,1651		
JERMYN, Henry 1st.Ld.	Govr. Jersey, 1646	Jermin	3
KENDALL, Maj.	K Bristol, 1643	Kendall	7
KETTLEBY, Sir Thos.	Resisted Parlmt.,1642	Kettleby	0
KILLIGREW, Maj.	K Somerset, 1644	Killagrew	1
KILLIGREW, Sir Henry	R, 1647		
KILLIGREW, Sir William	R, 1641-2		
KING, General	Scottish royalist,1642-3	King	36
KNIVETON, Daniel	King's msgr.,exec.1643	Kniveton	0
LANE, Sir Richard	King's commr.Uxbr.,1644	Lane	15
LANE, _____	Gave refuge Ch.II,1651		
LANGDALE, Sir Marmaduke	At Naseby, 1645, R	Langdale	3
LANGHORN, Col.	Decl. for King, 1648		0
LANY, Dr. Benjamin	King's commr., Uxbr.1644	Lany	1
LAWLY, Col.	Maj.-Gen.S.Wales,1643	Lawly	1
LEAKE, Francis,Ld.Deincourt	R Nottingham, 1642	Leake	6
LEAKE, Lt. Col.	K 2d Newbury, 1643		

LEE, _____ Sergt. of the Seal, 1642 Lee 29
LEE, Sir Thomas Entertained King Chas.,1642
LEG, Col. William Prisoner, Lichfield, 1643 Leg 0
LEGG, _____ Aided Ch.I's escape from Hampton Legg 6
LEY, Henry, E. M'brgh. Genl.Artly.Devizes,1643 Ley 1
LISLE,Sir Geo. Col.Naseby,1645;Essex rebel,1648 Lisle 1
LITTLETON, Sir Edw. Lord Keeper, 1642-5 Littleton 5
LIVINGSTON, James,Visc.M'bgh. Fled to Hague,'49 0
LONG, Col. High Sheriff Wilts;routed,1645 Long 23
LONG, Robert Secretary to Prince, 1648
LOVELACE, John Joined King at Oxfd.,1643 0
LOWTHER, Cer. Royalist in Ireland, 1643 Lowther 1
LUCAS, Sir Charles Cdr. Marston Moor,1644; prisoner 1648
LUCAS, Sir Gervas Governor of Belvoir,1646 Lucas 22
LUCAS, Sir John Essex Royalist, 1648
LUCAS, Thomas R in Dublin, 1643 /prisoner Edgehill,1642
LUNSFORD, Col. Henry K Bristol, 1643;Sir Thos.Lunsford 5
MACKWORTH, Sir Francis Cdr. Low Countries,1645 Mackworth 4
MALLETT, Sir Thomas P redeemed by King, 1642 Mallett ?
MANSEL, Sir Robert R naval ldr., 1642 Mansel(1) 2
MAULIVERER, Sir Richard P, 1648 Mauliverer 0
PRINCE MAURICE
MINNES, Sir John Loyal Rear-Admiral, 1642 Minnes 3
MOHUN,Sir George, Baron At Devizes, 1643 Moone 10
MOLESWORTH, Maj. Gen. Cdr. Okington, 1645 Molesworth 1
MONROE, Maj. Gen. Ldr.Irish in Cmbld.,1648 Monroe 3
MONTAGUE, Catholic priest of Queen, 1650 Montague 2
MONTROSE,
MORDAUNT, Henry 2d. E. Ptrbrgh. R consp.,1648 0
MOUNTAGUE, Edw. Ld. Imprisoned by Prlmt.,1642 Montague 2
MORDAUNT, John Committed to Tower, 1658
MOUNTAGUE, Edw.(son) Won Cousin Adm.M.toKing,1660
MOYLE, Lt. Col. K Bristol, 1643 Moyle 3
MURRAY, William Of King's bedchmbr.,1642 Murray 7
MUSGRAVE, Sir Philip P Chester,1645; seized Carlisle 6
NEVE, Sir Wm. le R, 1642 Neves 1
NICHOLAS, Sir Edw. R Commr. Uxbridge,1644 Nicholas 6
OGLE, Sir Wm. Seized Winchester for King,'44 (Nicholls 20)
ORILLY, Sir Hugh P Colchester,1648 Orily 1 Okell 1
OSBORNE, _____ Plotted King's escape,1648 Osborne 16
OWEN, Col.Sir John W Bristol, 1643 Owen 18
PAGE, Lt. Col. W 2d Newbury,1644 Page 15
PALMER, Sir Henry R Naval officer, 1642 Palmer 26
PALMER, Jeffery King's Commr. Uxbr.,1644
PARRY, Sir George R in Devon, 1645 Pa(e)rry 15
PAULET, Lord John R in West, 1642 Paulet 3
PENNINGTON, Sir John R admiral, 1642 Penington ?
PENNIMAN, Sir Wm. Govr., Oxfd.; died 1644 Penniman 0
PENRUDDOCK Beheaded Exeter, 1655 0
PERCY, Henry Genl.Ordn.; removed,1644 Percy 6
PHILIPS, Col.Robt. Aided Ch.II's esc. aftr.Worc. Phillips 3?
PIERREPONT, Pearepoint 1
PINKNEY, _____ Qrtrmstr.Genl.,1645 Pinkney 1

PLOT, John, lawyer	R victim king's troops,1643		0
POLLARD, Sir Hugh	R officer in West,1642	Pollard	4
PORRIDGE, Capt.	Agent of Ld.Goring,1645		0
PORTER, Endymion	R, 1642	Porter	19
POTTER, Christopher	King's Commr.,Uxbr.,1644	Potter	10
POWEL, Col.	Decl.for King,1648	Powell	39
POYER, Col.	Decl. for King, 1648	Powre	1
PRICE, Herbert	R of dubious value,1655	Price	41
PROGERS, _____	R messenger, 1646	Prosser	8
PYE, Sir Robert	Cdr. R garrison Leic.,1645	Pye	4
QUARTERMAINE, Dr.	King's physicn.,1658		0
RICH, Henry,E.Holl'd	R, 1648	Rich	10
ROBINSON, Lt. Col.	Burnt Wellington House,1645	Robinson	29
ROLES, _____	Ousted by Cromwell,1655	Roles	2
ROTHERHAM, Thomas	R at Dublin, 1643	Rotherham	1
ROWE, Sir Thomas	Ch.J's ambdr.toEmperor,1642	Rowe	2
ROXBURGH,Earl of PRINCE RUPERT	King's emissary, 1643		
RUSSEL,Sir William	King's Treas. of Navy,1644	Russell	18
RUTHVEN, Patrick	General, 1642-4		0
RYVES, _____	R Commr. in Dorset,1645	Ryves	13
SACHEVERELL, Mr.	Cath. contrib.toKing,1642		0
ST. GEORGE, Col.	R Leicester, 1645	St.Geo.	0
SAINT-HILL, _____	Commr. for Devon,1645		0
ST. JOHN,Oliver	R, 1642	St.John	2
SAVAGE, John 2d E.Rivers	R, 1642	Savage	12
SAVILE, John, Lord	Treas. King's Household,1641	Savill	3
SAVILE, Thomas E.Sx.	R, 1644		
SACKVILLE, Edw. E. Dorset	R, 1642-3		0
SCAWEN, _____	R Commr. Cornwall,1645	Scowen	1
SCROOP, Sir Gervas	Lincoln R; W Edgehill,1642		
SCROOP, son	Rescued his father, 1642	Scroope	1
SELDEN, John	Asst. Ld.Littleton,1642	Seldome	1
SEYMOUR, Col.	Garrisoned Dartmouth, 1643		
SEYMOUR, Francis, Ld.	King's Commr. Uxbr.,1644		
SEYMOUR, Harry	Of King's bedchmbr.,1643	Seymor	1
SEYMOUR, Sir John	P Bristol, 1643		
SEYMOUR, Wm.Marq.Herf.	Genl. in West, 1642-3		
SHELDON, Gilbert	King's Commr. Uxbr.,1644	Sheldon	2
SHIPMAN, Sir Ab.	P Colchester, 1648	Shipman	1
SHURLEY, George	R in Dublin, 1643	Shurley	2
SKELTON, Richard	Solicitor Genl.,1642	Shelton	2
SLANNING, Sir Nicholas	K Bristol, 1643	Slanning	0
SLINGSBY, Capt.	Royalist in Navy, 1642		0
SLINGSBY, Sir Harry	Executed by Cromwell,1658		
SLINGSBY, Lt. Col.	At Bristol, 1643		
SMITH,Sir John	Rescued Standd.Edgehill,'42	Smith	66
SPENCER,Henry,Lord	Slain Newbury, 1643	Spencer	22
STACY, Col.	Exec., 1658	Stacey	2
STANLEY, James,E.Derby	R, 1642; beheaded,1651	Stanley	13
STAPLEY, Mr.	King's friend Sx.,1658	Staple	3
STAWEL,Sir John	Covr. of Taunton	Stowell	3
STEPHENS, Sir John	At Lambeth House, 1660	Ste(v)(ph)ens	17 26
SHELDON, Maj. Thos.	K Lansdown, 1643	(see above)	

STEWARD, Dr.	King's Commr. Uxbr.,1644	Steward	15
STEWART, Ld.Bernard	K Chester, 1645	Stewart	1
STEWART, Ld. John	K Alresford, 1644		
STRADLING, Sir Edw.	P at Edgehill, 1642		0
STRANGEWAYS, Sir John	R Commr. for Dorset,1645		0
STRICKLAND, Sir Robt.	R with Musgrave, 1648	Stricland	1
STROUD, Sir George	W Edgehill, 1642	Stroo(w)d	2
STRUTT, Sir Dennard	P Colchester, 1648	Strutt	0
STUART, James, Duke Richmd.	R, 1642	Stuar(t)(d)	6
STUART, George, Lord Aubigny,	K Edgehill,1642		
SYNDERCOMB	Plotted to kill Cromwell, 1658		0
THELWELL, Col.	Cdr. foot Cropredy Bridge,1644	Thelwall	1(Fr.
THORNHILL, Col.	Cdr. Petherton-Bridge,1645	Thornhill	0
THROCMORTON, Sir Wm.	Wounded Wigan, 1651	Throgmorton	1
VAUGHAN, Sir George	Wounded Lansdown,1643	Vaughan	22
TICHBORNE, Sir Harry	Ld. Just,Ireld.,1643		0
TILDESLEY, Sir Thos.	K Wigan, 1651	Tilsley	1
TOMKINS,	In R plot, 1643	Tomkins	10
TOPPING, Lt. Col.	K 2d Newbury,1643	Toppin	2
TOWNSEND, Sir Horatio	Planned to seize Lynne,1659	Townsend	9
TREVANION, Col.	K Bristol, 1643	Trevannion	1
USHER, Col.	xK Lichfield, 1643	Usher	3
UDALL, (Sir Wm. Uvedal)		Udall	2
UVEDAL, Sir Wm.	King's emissary,1642	(see Udall)	
VAVASOUR, Sir Charles	Cdr. Irish Regts., 1644		0
VAVASOUR, Sir Wm.	P Edgehill, 1642		
VERNEY, Sir Edmund	Std-Bearer;K Edgehill	Varny	1
VILLIERS, Edward	Messenger of King,1642		0
VILLIERS, Francis Ld.	K Kingston, 1648		
VOWEL, _____	Executed Charing Cross,1654	Voyle	1
WAGSTAFFE, Col.Sir Joseph	W Lichfield,1643	Wagstaff	1
WALKMAN, Capt. Saml.	K Saltash, 1644		0
WAKE, Baldwin	R in Navy, 1646	Wake	1
WALSH, Sir Robert	R, 1648	Walsh	1
WALSINGHAM,	Apprised King of plot,1655	Walsingham	1
WARE, Sir James	R at Dublin, 1643	Ware	13
WASHINGTON, Col.	At Bristol, 1643	Washington	6
WATTS, Sir John	P Colchester, 1648	Watts	25
WEB, Maj.Gen.Wm.	R in West, 1645	Webb	23
WENTWORTH, George	R in Dublin, 1643	Wentworth	2
WENTWORTH, Col. Harry	Cdr. Edgehill, 1642		
WENTWORTH, Thomas E.	Cleveland; Cdr.horse,1646		
WIDDRINGTON, Sir Wm.	Routed, 1643	Wittingington	1
WILLOUGHBY, Bertie	P Edgehill, 1642	Willoughby	11
WILMOT, Henry	Cdr. Coventry,1642	Wilmot	7
WINDHAM, Col. Edmund	High Sheriff,Soms.,1643;	Govr.Bridgewater	
WINDHAM, Col. Francis	Govr. Dunster Cast.,1643	Windham	1
WINDEBANK, Thomas	Surrend. Elschington,'45		0
WISE	R Mayor Glouc's'tr,1643	Wisec	10
WITHRINGTON, Wm.	K Wigan, 1651	(see Widdrington)	
WOGAN, Capt.	Died Scotld.,1655		0
WOOD, Sir Harry	Queen's Treas.,1652	Wood	33
WYAT, Sir Dudley	R in France, 1646	Wyatt	15
WRIOTHESLEY, Thos.E.	Southton. R, 1642		0
WINDHAM, Sir Hugh	R, 1645	(see Windham)	
YEOMANS, Robert	Hanged for consp.,1643	Yeoman(s)	9

TOTALS 247 surnames 1,666 possible Cavalier colonists

206 of the 247 surnames appear in Virginia

83.4% of names are represented

Average of 8 colonists per name

APPENDIX XII - REFERENCES TO ENGLISH COLONISTS IN VIRGINIA WHOSE NAMES APPEAR IN NUGENT, CAVALIERS AND PIONEERS, AND WHOSE COUNTY OF ORIGIN CAN BE PLACED WITH REASONABLE ACCURACY

Aucote	1	Gloucester
Baskevill	1	Hereford
Baskerville	1	Hereford
Baskfeild	1	Hereford
Bemrose	1	Cornwall
Beverley	3	Yorkshire
Boswell	8	Yorkshire
Brereton	20	Cheshire
Bruerton	1	Cheshire
Death	7	Kent
Devorax	1	Cheshire
Courtney	3	Devon
Digg(s)	26	Kent
Dymock	1	Lincoln
Dounman	1	Devon
Downman	3	Devon
Drake	6	Devon
Drewett	2	Devon
Druett	1	Devon
Druit	2	Devon
Ennis	1	Devon
Errington	1	Northumberland
Errington	3	Northumberland
Evelin	5	Surrey
Eveling	1	Surrey
Fairefax	4	York
Filpot	1	Kent
Forscue	1	Devon
Forshew	1	Devon
Fortescue	1	Devon
Foster	87	Northumberland
Gascoigne	18	York
Goring	1	Sussex
Gorsuch	6	Kent
Greenfield	5	Devon
Greenfell	1	Devon
Gunter	9	Surrey
Harris	203	Devon
Hawker	9	Devon
Hawkers	1	Devon
Hawkes	8	Devon
Hawking	1 63	Devon
Hawkins	63	Devon
Hugesson	2	Kent
Iego	1	Cornwall
Isam	2	Northampton
Isham	4	Northampton
Isom	1	Northampton
Isum	1	Northampton
Ives	6	Northampton
Jego	1	Cornwall
Jue	1	Devon
Kelly	13	Devon
Killagrew	1	Cornwall
Knatchpoole	1	Kent
Knighton	2	Hertford
Knotchbull	1	Kent
Langdale	1	York
Langdall	1	York
Langdaule	1	York
Larkin	4	Kent
Littleton	16	Worcester
Louder	3	Westmorland
Lovell	13	Somerset
Lovett	6	Northampton
Lowder	4	Westmorland
Lunsford	14	Sussex
Luntsford	6	Sussex
Moon(e)	61	Devon
Musgrave	3	Cumberland
Musgrove	7	Cumberland
Mussard	1	Derby
Outred	1	York
Overbury	1	Gloucester
Pargiter	1	Essex
Pargetor	1	Essex
Paulett	2	Devon
Paverell	1	Devon
Pawlett	2	Devon
Peneales	1	Cornwall
Penenton	1	Cornwall
Penestore	1	Cornwall
Penhorne	1	Cornwall
Penifell	1	Cornwall
Penogee	1	Cornwall
Penrose	1	Cornwall
Penry	1	Cornwall
Pensint	1	Cornwall
Pensuit	1	Cornwall
Penton	2	Cornwall
Peyton	4	Kent
Philpot	5	Kent
Philpott	4	Kent
Pinhorne	2	Cornwall
Powlett	1	Devon
Radcliffe	1	Lancaster
Radley	1	Devon,Linc.
Radly	2	Devon,Linc.
Randolph	8	Warwick
Rashly	1	Devon,Cornw.
Ratchliff	1	Lancaster
Ratcliff	3	Lancaster
[illegible]tcliffe	5	Lancaster
[illegible]tliffe	1	Lancaster

Rauley	1	Devon
Rawley	1	Devon
Redly	1	Devon
Rippon	3	York
Rivers	11	Dorset
Rolfe	14	Norfolk
Rolph	5	Norfolk
Rooke	4	Kent, Cumberland
Roose	1	Devon
Rouse	1	Devon
Rowly	17	Devon
Rowse	2	Devon, Warwick
Ruse	4	Devon
Sallace	1	Devon
Sallis	2	Gloucester
Samuel	1	Gloucester
Samuell	1	Cornwall
Sandes	1	Kent, Hants, Cornwall
Sandis	1	Kent, Hants, Cornwall
Sands	6	Kent, Hants, Cornwall
Sandyes	1	Kent, Hants, Cornwall
Sandys	1	Kent, Hants, Cornwall
Say	11	Suffolk
Saye	2	Suffolk
Scarborough	10	Norfolk
Scarborrough	2	Norfolk
Scarbourgh	4	Norfolk
Scarbrough	6	Norfolk
Scarbrow	1	Norfolk
Scarburgh	43	Norfolk
Scroope	1	York, Wilts
Sey	1	Suffolk
Seymor	1	Dorset
Sharman	1	Suffolk
Shearman	1	Suffolk
Sheerman	2	Suffolk
Sheffield	7	Lincoln
Shelley	2	Sussex
Shelly	8	Sussex
Sherman	10	Suffolk
Shirle	1	Leics., Sussex
Sidney	10	Essex
Sidnie	1	Essex
Sidny	4	Essex
Skipwith	3	Leicester
Slaughter	26	Gloucester
Smalecomb	1	Devon
Sollace	3	Gloucester
Sollie	7	Gloucester
Somers	1	Dorset, Worcs.
Spencer	46	Bedford
Spensor	1	Bedford
Stackhowse	3	York
Stafferton	3	Northampton, Berks
Stafford	10	Dorset, Devon
Standish	6	Lancaster
Stanley	8	Lancaster
Stanly	9	Lancaster
Stannop	1	Nottingham
Stannopp	1	Nottingham
Stapleton	1	York
St. John	2	Cornwall, Wilts
Stefferton	1	Nthtn., Berks
Stevely	1	Nottingham
Stewkly	2	Devon
Stoell	1	Somerset
Stockley	3	Devon
Stockly	1	Devon
Stokeley	1	Devon
Stokely	2	Devon
Stowell	3	Somerset
Strange	7	Glouc., Wilts
Stricland	1	Westmorland
Strood	3	Devon
Stroud	4	Devon
Strowd	1	Devon
Stuckley	2	Devon
Stukely	1	Devon
Sumers	2	Dorset, Worc.
Talliafre	1	Cornwall
Tallifre	1	Cornwall
Tarlton	3	Hereford
Tarpley	1	Northampton
Tempest	3	York
Tennant	1	York
Teverton	1	Devon
Thorpp	1	Lincoln
Thornborough	3	Hants, York
Thornbury	4	Hants, York
Thorncomb	2	Devon
Thorne	16	Devon
Thorneborough	1	Hants, York
Thornebury	1	Hants, York
Thorncroft	1	Cheshire
Thoroughgood		Essex, Herts.
Thorp	3	Lincoln
Thorpe	21	Lincoln
Thraile	1	Sussex
Thrickmorton	1	Gloucester
Throckmorton	1	Gloucester
Throgmorton	1	Gloucester
Thurland	1	York
Tillney	2	Camb., Norfolk
Tilney	7	Camb., Norfolk
Titbury	1	Gloucester
Tolliver	1	Cornwall
Torrington	1	Devon
Totnam	6	Suffolk

Trace	2	Cornw., Dev., Glouc.
Tracy	4	Cornw., Dev., Glouc.
Travabin	1	Cornwall
Travernor	1	Essex
Travers	16	York, Devon
Traverse	3	York, Devon
Travillian	1	Cornwall
Travis	15	York, Devon
Trayillis	1	Cornwall
Tredescant	1	Cornwall
Trediskin	1	Cornwall
Trelawney	1	Cornwall
Tresilian	1	Cornwall
Trevannion	1	Cornwall
Treverton	1	Devon
Travers	2	York, Devon
Troliver	2	Cornwall
Truett	5	Devon
Truhett	1	Devon
Truitt	2	Devon
Tucker	34	Devon, Kent
Tuke	5	Kent
Udall	1	Hants, Dorset
Unwin	6	Stafford
Unwyn	3	Stafford
Valker	1	Somerset
Varly	1	York
Varny	1	Buckingham
Vaulx	11	Bedford, Hants, Kent
Vaus	19	Bedford, Hants, Kent
Vause	10	Bedford, Hants, Kent
Vazey	1	Suffolk
Veare	1	Suffolk
Velsey	1	Suffolk
Venable	1	Chester
Vere	1	Suffolk
Vernon	2	Chester
Vezie	1	Suffolk
Vezey	4	Suffolk
Vonibly	1	Chester
Voscombe	2	Devon
Wagstaff	1	Derby
Wake	1	Somerset
Walpole	1	Norfolk
Walsingham	1	Kent
Warren	42	Devon
Warrin	4	Devon
Washington	10	Northampton
Webley	1	Essex
Wellington	2	(Brecknock) London
Wentworth	2	York
Wescombe	1	Somerset
Wescome	1	Somerset
West	122	Sussex
Wharton	4	York, Durham
Wiatt	3	Devon, Kent
Wickliffe	2	York
Wicklife	1	York
Wildgoose	1	Sussex
Willimot	1	Derby
Willmod	1	Derby
Willmott	1	Derby
Willmouth	1	Derby
Willmude	1	Derby
Willoughby	16	Nottingham
Willoughbie	3	Nottingham
Willoughbyl	6	Nottingham
Willowby	1	Nottingham
Willowbye	1	Nottingham
Willsford	1	Kent
Wilmot	11	Derby
Wilsford	11	Kent
Windsor	1	Brks., Middx.
Winfield	1	Suffolk
Wingfield	2	Suffolk
Winthrop	1	Suffolk
Wise	18	Devon
Womball	1	York
Wombnell	1	York
Wombrell	1	York
Wombwell	7	York
Woodhouse	22	York, Norfolk
Woodhowse	8	Huntingdon
Wormeley	18	York
Wormewell	1	York
Wray	6	Lincoln, Devon
Wroth	1	Sex, Kent, Midx.
Wyat	3	Devon, Kent
Wyatt	56	Devon, Kent
Wyes	1	Devon
Wyse	1	Devon
Wyvon	1	Cornwall
Yeo	26	Devon, Cornw.
Yoe	2	Devon, Cornw.
Yong	3	Devon, Salop
de Yonge	1	Holland, Devon
Yongue	1	Devon, Salop
York	1	Devon, Glouc.
Yorke	8	Devon, Glouc.
Young	109	Devon, Salop
Zouch	3	Leic., Somerset
Zacher	1	Cornwall

APPENDIX XIII - REFERENCES TO WELSH COLONISTS IN VIRGINIA NOTED IN NUGENT, CAVALIERS AND PIONEERS, VOL. I.

Abathon	1	Flynt	1	Jeffry	1	Merredith	4
Abberlyln	1	George	33	Jenckin	1	Merrick	8
Aboge	1	Ginkin	1	Jenckinson	1	Merrideth	6
Adam	2	Glyn	1	Jenkon	1	Merriwether	3
Ap Roger	1	Goneg	1	Jenkenson	1	Merrywether	3
Ap Lewis	1	Griffen	6	Jenkin	11	Merywether	9
Ap Thomas	3	Griffeth	20	Jenkins	47	Morgan	145
Aprickett	1	Griffett	1	Jenkinson	3	Morganson	1
Aron	1	Griffin	76	Jinkins	1	Morgen	1
Arter	1	Griffing	1	Joanes	24	Morgin	1
Arther	1	Griffith	17	Jones	731	Morgon	1
Arthur	11	Gwalpney	1	Leullin	1	Morrice	17
Arthurs	5	Gwillim	1	Lewellin	13	Morris	102
Arum	1	Gwillum	1	Lewis	150	Murfin	1
Barrom	1	Gwin	11	Loid	1	Owen	34
Barron	2	Gwinn	3	Lloyd	9	Owens	7
Bembricke	1	Gwinns	1	Lluellin	2	Owin	7
Boone	7	Gwynn	11	Loyd	50	Parry	51
Boones	1	Harbard	1	Luelin	1	Perry	54
Brice	35	Harbert	1	Luellin	9	Perrye	2
Brise	1	Harbott	1	Mabb	1	Pery	5
Bryce	2	Harbutt	1	Mabbett	2	Perye	1
Cadagon	1	Harris	203	Mabor	1	Powell	1
Cadwallader	1	Hary	4	Phillips	131	Tomkins	6
Cadwell	1	Herbert	20	Maddock	1	Touis	1
Corbetw	1	Herry	1	Maddocks	4	Poell	1
Corbett	4	Heughes	1	Maddox	5	Pool(e)	46
Corbitt	2	Hewes	34	Madix	2	Powell	160
Coyte	2	Hewis	1	Madocks	1	Preese	1
Craddock	5	Howell	2	Madoxs	1	Presser	1
Cradock	3	Hoell	4	Mansell	13	Price	138
David	13	Howell	37				
Davies	20	Hues	22				
Davis	202	Hughes	43	Marogan	1	Prichard	14
Davye	1	Hugns	4	Mathew(s)	102	Pricherd	1
Davyes	1	Hungerford	2	Mattocks	3	Prichett	4
Davys	1	Huse	4	Maturt	1	Prickett	10
Difneth	1	James	123	Maurice	5	Prise	5
Edwards	138	Jeakin	1	Meradith	1	Pritchard	8
Elice	1	Jeakins	1	Meredath	1	Pritchett	2
Elles	2	Jeames	1	Meredeth	8	Prosser	10
Ellice	3	Jefferies	3	Meredith	6	Prosior	1
Ellis	44	Jeffers	5	Merowether	6	Prossier	1
Ellies	1	Jefferson	10	Merriweather	1	Pryce	5
Evans	151	Jeffery	1	Merideth	1	Pryse	2
Flewellin	2	Jefferyes	4	Meriweather	5	Pue	2
Flewelling	1	Jefferys	8	Meriwether	3	Puel	1
Flint	31	Jeffreys	2	Merradith	1	Puell	1
Fluellin	2	Jeffries	1	Merradayth	1	Ridner	1
						Rice	27
						Richards	69

Richardson	46
Richerdson	2
Richeson	14
Richett	2
Rickett	3
Ricketts	4
Robert	3
Roberts	100
Robertson	3
Roger	1
Roger ap Robt.	1
Rogers	66
Rosier	20
Rosser	5
Rossier	1
Rosyer	4
Russer	1
Taffe	1
Thomas	196
Thomkin	1
Thompson	58
Thomson	4
Taffy	1
Tomkins (see column to left)	
Tomkinson	1
Tompkins	7
Tompkinson	1
Tomlin	28
Tomling	1
Tomlinson	6
Tomlyn	4
Tompson	87
Toms	4
Vahan	2
Vahane	54
Vaughan	54
Walch	1
Walter	19
Walters	23
Watkins	47
Watkinson	1
Wattkins	5
Weinne	1
Welch	33
Welchman	1
Welsh	4
Welshe	1
Wenn	1
Wenne	1
Williams	449
Win	3
Winn	14
Winne	3
Wynn	11

750 items in all

5152 references to colonists.

APPENDIX XIV - REFERENCES TO IRISH COLONISTS IN VIRGINIA NOTED IN NUGENT, CAVALIERS AND PIONEERS, VOL. I.

Adonnoway	1	Mackeneckhogah	1	Ororke	1
Agagin	1	Mackerrall	1	O' Shalenan	1
Agakee	1	Macknill	1	O' Shalevan	1
Aledry	1	Mackomack	1	O' Shulivan	1
Amalachan	1	Mackroe	1	O' Sulivan	1
Amore	1	Magraffe	1	O' Sulvan	1
Arrorke	1	Mahoone	2	O' Swillan	1
Augulliott	1	Manahan	1	O' Swillivant	1
Banen	1	Manough	1	O' Tire	1
Banin	1	Mathone	1	Owberry	1
Bearne	2	Mayo	2	O' Williams	1
Bohonnett	1	Mahonney	1	Patrack	1
Bradie	1	Mokezann	1	Patriack	1
Brian	2	Mokoy	1	Patrick	9
Brogin	1	Morane	1	Phinly	1
Bryan	2	O'Aver	1	Plunket	1
Callihan	1	O'Berry	3	Plunkett	1
Carby	2	Oberye	2	Reiley	1
Cassy	1	O'Carby	1	Reily	5
Chunahan	1	Coathane	1	Reley	1
Conah	1	Ocomly	1	Rely	1
Conley	1	O' Conily	1	Riley	2
Cormack	1	O' Craham	2	Rilie	1
Cullaine	1	O' Donnell	1	Rilly	1
Cullen	3	O' Dorrick	1	Rily	1
Denis	1	O' Dremne	1	Rury	1
Dennis	37	O' Fahee	1	Ryley	1
Donnell	3	O' Fallo	1	Ryly	1
Donniell	1	O' Farne	1	Shoely	2
Donoh	1	O' Graham	1	Sheen	1
Donouge	1	O' Grangenes	1	Suellivant	1
Finley	1	O' Harrett	1	Sullivan	2
Flaharty	2	O' Harrough	1	Sweney	2
Flanny	2	Oheley	1	Swany	2
Gagen	1	O' Hind	1	Swillevant	1
Gillealew	1	Okelly	2	Swillivan	1
Kahan	1	O' Kally	1	Swillivant	4
Kannaday	2	O' Kenedy	1	Teage	3
Kasey	1	O' Kery	1	Teagy	2
Kelly	13	O' Lanny	1	Teagg	2
Kennedye	1	O' Leally	1	Teageo	1
Laflyn	1	O' Lealy	1	Teagle	9
Longford	1	O' Luffe	1	Teague	3
Macartee	1	O' Lyn	1	Toole	1
MacDonnell	1	Omallin	1	Toolye	2
MacDuell	1	O' Mally	1	Tuath	1
Machany	1	O' Melle	1	Usullevan	2
Machoone	1	O' Morpher	1	Usulevan	2
Machone	1	O' Moulins	1	Usulavan	1
Macragh	1	O' Naught	1		
MacRoury	1	O' Naughton	1		
MacRdoneal	1	Orily	1		

APPENDIX XV - LIST OF NOBLE FAMILIES IN ENGLAND WITH DATES OF EXTINCTION AND NUMBERS OF VIRGINIA COLONISTS BEARING SAME SURNAME

ARCHER	1778	6
ARUNDEL	1768	4
AUDLEY	1392	1
BASSET	1390	5
BEAUCHAMP	1496	1
BEAUFORT	1471	2
BEAUMONT	1507	5
BERKELEY	1773	4
BLOUNT	1666	8
BOHUN	1372	7
BOTELER	1369	20
BRAY	1557	11
BROOKE	1619	18
CADOGAN	1726	1
CAREL	1696	4
CAREW	1629	5
CAREY	1765	10
CLARE	1313	5
CLIFFORD	1643	4
CLIFTON	1395	8
COLEPEPER	1725	5
CONWAY	1683	3
CORBET	1322	4
CORNWALL	1443	3
COURTENAY	1471	2
D'ARCY	1418	2
DESPENCER	1414	22
DEVEREUX	1397	1
DIGBY	1698	5
DORMER	1709	1
DUDLEY	1553	8
FERRERS	1444	2
FORTESCUE	1751	2
GORING	1672	1
GRANDISON	1375	1
GRENVILLE	1734	5
GREY	1495	23
GRIFFIN	1742	26
HAMILTON	1651	7
HASTINGS	1389	3
HERBERT	1745	11
HOLLAND	1461	13
HOWARD	1816	18
HUNGERFORD	1541	2
LANCASTER	1334	4
LANGDALE	1777	2
LEE	1776	28
LEY	1679	1
DOVEL	1487	8
LOWTHER	1751	1
LUCAS	1705	21
LYTTLETON	1779	5
MANSELL	1750	2
MARSHALL	1316	13
MOHUN	1712	10
MOLINES	1347	1
MONTAGUE	1749	2
MONTFORT	1367	4
MORTIMER	1424	1
MUSGRAVE	1373	4
NEVILL	1577	4
NOEL	1798	8
NORRIS	1620	5
PAGET	1769	5
PARR	1571	10
PAULET	1794	3
PERCY	1670	12
POLE	1539	2
RADCLIFFE	1746	5
RICH	1759	10
ST. JOHN	1711	2
SANDYS	1700	6
SAVILE	1700	3
SAY	1382	7
SCROPE	1627	1
SEYMOUR	1750	1
SHIRLEY		1
STAFFORD	1640	5
STANHOPE	1677	2
STANLEY	1581	6
STAPLETON	1374	1
STAWEL	1735	4
STRANGE	1375	3
STUART	1807	5
SUTTON	1723	10
SYDNEY	1743	5
TALBOT	1469	10
TRUSSELL	1343	4
UFFORD	1382	2
UGHTRED	1365	1
VERNEY		1
VAUX	1643	10
VERE	1702	2
VESCI	1315	2
WAKE	1349	1
WALSINGHAM		1
WARREN	1347	17
WATSON	1782	29
WENTWORTH	1799	2
WHARTON	1731	2
WILLOUGHBY	1779	8
YORKE	1792	6
ZOUCH	1337	2
	TOTAL	632 immigrants.

APPENDIX XVI - CHURCHES OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VIRGINIA

Name	Date	Present County Location
1st Jamestown Church	1607	James City
2nd Jamestown Church	1608	James City
3rd Jamestown Church	1610	James City
Bermuda Hundred Church	1613?	Chesterfield
4th Jamestown Church	1617	James City
1st Martin's Brandon Church	1619	Prince George
St. Mary's Church	1619	Charles City
Martin's Hundred Church	1620	James City
1st Lower (Accomack) Church	1624	Northampton
1st Elizabeth City (Kecoughtan) Church	1624	Elizabeth City
1st Mulberry Island (Stanley Hundred Church)	1627	Warwick
1st Lawne's Creek Church	1628	Surry
Weyanoke (1st Middle Westover) Church	1628?	Charles City
1st Newport Parish Church	1632?	Isle of Wight
1st Denbigh (Lower Warwick) Church	1636	Warwick
1st Upper Westover Church	1637?	Charles City
1st Lynnhaven Church	1639	Princess Anne
5th Jamestown Church	1639	James City
1st Chiskiack Church	1639?	York
Seawell's Point Church	1640	Norfolk
Elizabeth River Chapel	1641	Norfolk
2nd Lower (Fishing Point) Church	1641	Northampton
1st York Church	1642	York
Southern Shore Church	1642?	Princess Anne
Private Puritan Meetings	1642-3	Nansemond
1st Upper Parish Church	1643	Nansemond
1st Lower Parish Church	1643	Nansemond
1st Chuckatuck (St. John's) Church	1643	Nansemond
City Church	1643?	Prince George
1st Charles Church	1645	York
1st Upper Parish Church	1645?	Isle of Wight
1st Bungar's (Ruswattocke) Church	1646	Northampton
Wallingford Church	1648?	Charles City
2nd Lawne's Creek Church	1650?	Surry
1st Southwark Church	1650?	Surry
Wicomico Church	1650?	Northumberland
Nandue Church	1653	Accomac
Western Branch Chapel	1653?	Norfolk
St. Mary's White Chapel	1655?	Lancaster
Occahannock Church	1656	Accomac
Merchant's Hope (Jordan's) Church	1657	Prince George

Marston Church	1658	York
2nd Martin's Brandon Church	1658?	Prince George
Lower Church (Stratton Major) Poropone Church?	1658?	King & Queen
1st Abingdon Church	1660	Gloucester
1st Bruton Church	1660	York
Lower Church (Kingston)	1660	Mathews
1st Petsworth (Puritan) Church	1660?	Gloucester
St. Stephen's Church	1660?	Northumberland
1st Ware Church	1660?	Gloucester
Tanner's Creek Church	1661	Norfolk
Appomattox Church	1661?	King George
3rd Lower (Accomack) Church	1663	Northampton
2nd Upper Parish Church	1663	Isle of Wight
Private Quaker Meeting House at William Yarrett's Levy Neck	1663	Isle of Wight
1st Upper Church (Stratton Major)	1664?	King & Queen
Pamunkey Chapel (1st Lower Church of St. John's Parish)	1665?	King William
1st Lower Chapel (Poquetanuck Church)	1666	Middlesex
Eastern Branch Chapel	1666	Princess Anne
1st Christ Church	1667	Middlesex
2nd Elizabeth City Church	1667	Hampton, Elizabeth City
1st Upper Chapel (Lancaster Church)	1667	Middlesex
2nd York Church	1667	York
(St.George's) Pongoteague Church	1668	Accomac
Old Somerton Friends' Meeting House	1672	Nansemond
Levy Neck Friends' Meeting House.	1672?	Isle of Wight
Chuckatuck Friends' Meeting House	1672?	Nansemond
2nd Southwark Church	1673	Surry
St. Stephen's Chapel	1675?	King & Queen
2nd Upper Church (Stratton Major)	1675?	King & Queen
2nd Petsworth (Poplar Spring) Church	1677	Gloucester
1st North River Chapel	1679	Gloucester
Assawaman	1680	Accomac
1st Cabin Point Chapel	1680	Surry
2nd Hungar's Church	1680	Northampton
Onancock Church	1680?	Accomac
2nd Charles Church	1682	York
2nd Newport Parish (The Old Brick) Church	1682?	Isle of Wight

2nd Bruton Church	1683	York
1st Upper Church (St. John's)	1685?	King William
Kingston Chapel	1686	Mathews
Round Hill Church	1687?	King George
1st Eastern Shore Chapel	1690	Princess Anne
Acquinton Chapel	1690?	King William
2nd Lynnhaven Church	1692	Princess Anne
4th Lower (Wagothy Bay) Church	1692	Northampton
1st Lower Newport Chapel	1692	Isle of Wight
2nd North River Chapel	1692	Gloucester
Somerton Chapel	1692	Nansemond
Ferry Chapel	1692?	Petersburg, Prince Geo
Great Neck Presbyterian Meeting	1693?	Princess Anne
1st Lower Southwark (3rd Layne's Creek) Church	1695	Surry
Lower Wilmington (Chickahominy) Church	1695?	James City
3rd York (Grace) Church	1697	York
Private Presbyterian Meeting House on Elizabeth River	1699	Princess Anne
Middle Chapel	16--?	Nansemond
Wilmington Chapel	16--?	Charles City
2nd Cheesecake Church	1700	York
2nd Chuckatuck (St. John's) Church	1700	Nansemond
Seacock Chapel	1700	Southampton
2nd Mulberry Island (Upper Warwick) Church	1700?	Warwick
Secauree Chapel	1700?	Sussex

APPENDIX XVII - NOTE ON SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VIRGINIA DIALECT

Hugh Jones, writing in 1724, said that the Virginians esteemed London as their home and had "contemptible notions" of England and wrong sentiments of Bristol and the other out-ports, derived from association with common dealers, sailors, and servants that came from those towns and from country places in England and Scotland whose language and manners seemed strange to them. Virginia planters and native negroes, according to Jones, "generally talk good English, without Idiom or Tone," and converse with persons belonging to trade and navigation from London to a considerable extent.

This statement of Jones reveals the admission that merchants, sailors, and servants (indentured?) were to a large extent from the Southwest of England, and in his expression, "out-ports", he must have been speaking of Barnstaple, Bideford, Falmouth, Plymouth, Topsham, Exeter, Southampton, Cowes, and Bristol. "Common dealers" is the term applied by Jones to the Southwest merchants; "persons belonging to trade and navigation" from London stand somewhat higher in Jones's estimation. If Jones was a Welshman, as in all probability he was, it is somewhat incongruous for him thus to slight the people of the West; even if he was not a Welshman, his reference to the cider of Herefordshire and the quart of Winchester as good and true standards may reflect the fact that he was himself a Westerner. Jones's

education at Oxford may very well have failed to fit him for judging subtle nuances of dialect, inasmuch as John Aubrey, in his Natural History of Wiltshire, says that

> The western people cannot open their mouthes to speak ore rotundo. Wee pronounce paal, pale, &c., and especially in Devonshire. The Exeter College men in disputations, when they allege Causa Causae est Causa Causati, they pronounce it Caza Cazae est Caza Cazati very ungracefully.

Thus even at Oxford in the middle of the seventeenth century students retained their peculiarities of local dialect. Exeter College was long a West Country College, its students being chiefly recruited from that part of the country. Aubrey's assertion that Sir Walter Raleigh spoke "broad Devon" to his dying day, although his was probably an exceptional case, shows that even courtiers in the metropolis did not all speak London dialect.

Puttenham's Arts of English Poetry (1589) stated that Southern English was the standard language, particularly that of London and the shires lying about London within about sixty miles. However, Puttenham said:

> I say not this but that in every shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake but specially write as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend.

Thus it can be seen that provincial dialects in the sixteenth, and also in the seventeenth, in all probability, played a

prominent part in the speech of Englishmen of standing. Unless the major number of Virginians came from London, Jones's identification of Virginia speech with that of the city would appear to be an overstatement. Kurath, the philologist, has not been so specific; he has asserted that Virginia speech was of Southeast British origin, thus allowing a role to Kent and Essex, which both furnished Virginia with a goodly number of colonists.

Clennth Brooks of Louisiana State University, in making a study of Alabama-Georgia dialect, has shed light on British provincialisms of speech in the South, notably in the oldest Southern colony - Virginia. He would appear to be right when he regards negroisms of speech as survivals from the English language as first taught them by the white man. In their preservation of songs and ballads as well as peculiarities of dialect the uneducated negro would seem to be rather consistently more tenacious of older speech forms than the white. "Goine" for "going" is a "negroism" found throughout Southeast England as far as Sussex, but no farther to the East. Negroes and Southerners have both retained "wh-" in "where", "what," "when," and "why." Southwest English pronounced the "h" in the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth "wh-" degenerated to "w-". The dropping of post-vocalic "r" in Virginia speech is one of the chief arguments against Virginia dialect's having

been that of the Southwest of England, which retained post-vocalic "r"; the explanation may not be so far to seek. The American Southern frontier in the eighteenth century retained post-vocalic "r"; the frontiersmen were descendants of the original settlers who spoke the native British dialect unmodified. Eighteenth century London society dropped post-vocalic "r" and the "fashionable" mode of speech was aped by the wealthy planters of Tidewater Virginia, who were in turn aped by the usually conservative negroes, who dropped the "r" in the same century, at the same time retaining most of the other characteristics of Southwest dialect taught them by white men a century before. The white population of Southwest Virginia, where negro influence has been at a minimum, exhibit many "negroisms" of speech, because it was their ancestors who taught the negroes how to talk English (of the Southwestern variety); the mountains tended to separate Southwest Virginia pioneers from the Tidewater region and so acted as a screen against the eighteenth century fashionable changes in dialect adopted by the planters to the East.

Bennett Wood Green, author of the most voluminous work on Virginia speech extant, has said unequivocally that "Virginia English is the Southwestern." He bases his conclusion on phonetic and historical grounds. The "seaports of Devonshire" had, in his opinion, early become the main strongholds of maritime enterprise; and in the sixteenth century Devonshire was distinguished from

the rest of England by its activity and progress. We find many of the men connected with the early settlement of Virginia from southwestern England. There were many from London, Kent, and other parts; but there were Cabot, Raleigh, Drake, the Gilberts, Somers, Bassett, Bolletourt, Gary, and others of the principal men from the Southwest. The numerous gentry of the Southwest were according to Green bound by constant intermarriages into a great clan; Green is not in error in this, one example being the connection between the Berkeleys of Gloucester and the Killigrews and Godolphins of Cornwall; many more might be cited.

On the phonetic side Green is less convincing, by reason of the fact that it is practically impossible to prepare any lists of similar word forms for different areas that are complete enough to be anywhere near conclusive. When Green thinks he finds Southwestern traces in such Virginia pronunciations as "yeer" (ear), "keer" (care), "yallow" (yellow), "beerd" (beard), "groun" (ground), "ribet" (rivet), "tribet" (trivet), "rench" (rinse), "curchey" (curtsey), "holt" (hold), "lather" (ladder), "gyard" (guard), "gyarden" (garden), "fresh-fork" (flesh-fork), "warnut" (walnut), "seben" (seven), "churn" (churn), "ninepence" (ninepence), "mossel" (morsel), "straddle" (straddle), "dreen" (drain), "peart" (pert), "gret" (great), "gradle" (great deal), "brek" (break), "git" (get), "arrant" (errand), "yoe" (ewe), "mauth" (moth), "saufie" (office), "yelk" (yolk), "caufy" (coffee), "close" (clothes), "sut" (suit), "jine" (join), and mischievous pronounced "mischeevus", he may well be

THE WELCH MANS INVENTORY.

HAN INFENTORY OF THE COVDES OF

William Morgan, ap Renald, ap Hugh, ap Richard, ap Thomas, ap Evan, ap Rice, in the County of Clamorgan, Shentleman.

Inprimis in the pantry of poultry for her owne eating, one great pigge 4. weeke old, one Coose, one Cock gilding, two blacke pudding, three Cowfoot.

Item, in the pantry of plate, one Cridiorn, one frypan, one trippan, three woodden Cup, fixe woodden spoone, one wooden ladle, three Cann.

Item, in the Napery, two towell, two table cloath, foure Napkin, one for her selfe, one for her wife *Shone*, two for her cosen *Shon ap powell, and Thomas ap Hugh, when was come to her house.*

Item, in the *Wardrope* one *Irish* Rugg, one frize shirkin, one sheepskin Tublet, two *Irish* stockin, two shooe, fixe leather point.

Item, in the Tary, one tosting shees, three Oaten cake, three pint of Coate milke, one pound Cow putter.

Item, in the Kitchin, one pan with white curd, two white pot, two Redherring, nine Sprat.

Item, in the Celler, one firkin of whiggan, a sower sider, one pint of *pirry*, one little pottle of *Carmarden* Sack, *alias* Metheglin.

Item, in the *Armory* of weapon to kill her enemy, one packe sword two edge, two welch hook, three long Club, one Cann, one mouse-trap.

Item, in the Carden, one ped Carlete, nine Onion, twelve Leek, twelve worme fixe frog.

Item, in the Leasway, two Tun cow, one Muntaine calfe.

Item, in the common field, two welch Nag, twelve long leg sheep, fourteene and twenty Coate.

Item, in the proome close, three Robbin Runhole, foure hare, her owne coods if her can catch her.

Item, in the Parne, one halfe heblet of Oate, seven pea, two peane.

Item, in the study, py cod was almost forgot her, one welch piple, two Almanack, one *Errapster*, one seven Chapions for St. *Taffie* sake, twelve puller, one pedigree.

Item, in the Closet, two straw hat, one pouse.

Item, in the ped, two naked pody, one shirt, one flannell smock at her peds head

Item, more cattle about the house, two Tog three cat, twelve mouse, pox on her was eat her tost shees 1000. white flea with black pack.

Item, more lumber about the house one wife, two shild, one call her black shack, and the t'other little *Morgan*.

Item, in the yard under the Wall one Wheele, two pucket, one ladder two Rope.

This infentory taken note of in the presence of her owne cosen *Rowland Meridith, ap Howell, and Lewellin Morgan, ap William*, in *Anno* 1849. vpon the ten and thirty of Shune.

A Note of some Legacy of accrea deale of goods bequeathed to her owne wife & her two shild, and all her cosens, friends and kindred, in manner as followeth.

Inprimis, was give to her teere wife *Shone Morgan* owle her couds in the ped, over the ped and under the ped.

Item, was give to her eldest son black shack, 40 and 12 card to play at whippe shiny 4 Ty to sheat her cosen, besides all her land to the full fallu of 20. and ten shillings three groat, *per Annum*.

Item, was give to her second son little *Morgan ap Morgan*, her short ladder under the wall in the yard and two Rop.

Item, was give to her cosen *Roland Merith, ap howell and Lewellin Morgan*, whom was make her Executor full power to pay owle her Tet, when her can get money.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of Evan ap Richard a shinkin ap Shone, her owne cosen, the Tay and yeare above written.

FINIS.

LONDON. Printed for *Thomas Lambert* dwelling in *Smithfield*, 1641.

From original in possession of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

The accompanying pictures reveal the features of Welsh dialect in the 1600's that proved amusing to Londoners. It is of interest to note in passing that the Welshman replaced "d" with "t" and "b" with "p." The large number of Welsh and Celtic individuals living in Virginia in colonial days may well account for the transition of the name "Tedington" (a Lightfoot estate) to "Tettington." "Holt" for "Thold", "Hampton" for Hampden, and "Chitley" for Chudleigh may be other examples of the same tendency toward voiceless and away from voiced dental sounds.

The VVelch-mans Life, Teath and Periall.

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TOGETHER WITH A LONG

Narrow prod Liſt, of the care her tooke in hers life-time,

to make awle hims frend and acquaintance merry at her teath,

abſcribing the manner of hers finerall, with faire coſt beſtowed upon them that comes to hims Periall.

Hims Naration.

TO make awle hims neibours and ſtranſhers the better acquaintance of her overgrowne cherity, upon the next tay after dome tay, if him can live non longer, was commaund awle her ſheneration as well ſhort cote as long tele, to eate him vittills up.

Where perſhanc them ſhall haue better ſheare Then them had at her wedding an awere.

Imprim. Shaul be firſt ſerue in without toore in faire woden plate & earthen trenſher one creat *Sheep-arme* with too legg, with eleven ſlice of *Cowſ-pody* cut ſmaul and fine anwer, eight ladill full of *Welch Formoty* made with leeke, ſix ſucking ſhickins with ſhell on them pack, foure oten *Pancake* bak'd upon a woden ſtone, too *Caulfs-pate*, one *Sow-babby*: Eate cuntry-men & pee merry.

Item, When you have eate up all the good ſheare, and that you ſee was dead indeed, was deſire him frends to take a little paine with her, to pull out her *Gut, Poding* and *Intrils*, and to perry the under a *Tombeſtone*, him knewed her ſweete wife *Shone* will ched one creat teare as pig as too milſton, pecauſe was tinke ſhall have no more huſband.

Item, her further requeſt is, that whē was dye, would have you to pool the skin off her pack, and to make her own ſon new paire of poots with him, a peec of tough lether was warant you.

Was awlſo beſtow the ſcull of her head (when the prains be taken out) amongſt hims freads to make a trinking poale, that as often as was trink helths, was ſay, gat-a-mercy on her ſoule, was hold a gallon of covd *Sider* was warrant you.

Was peſtow hims *Tongue* upon her coſen *Maudy*, was make her ſpeake proper *Welch* me warrant you.

Was give hims *Eyes* to plind *Robin* the ſing-pallat, to make him ſee hims owne wife from 'nother mans.

Was give him noſe to Mrs *Moll Hoper* auc of *Linden*, pecauſe ſhe have had non this ten and twenty yeare.

Was give hims *Teeth* to her coſen *Tauid* ap *Shinkin* ap *VVatkin*, to make pins for her *Harpe* ſtring, O was play notable fine dance me warant you.

Was pray to perry the reſt of hims pody under the forenamed *Tombeſtone* with the reſt of her powels, and to ſing one merry pallat for her ſake.

But ſtay ſtay, was awlmoſt forgot her ſelfe, me would farther intreat you that you will for me ſake doe this much more *venid baugh*.

Imprimis, to ſet over hims *Tombeſtone* her Grand-mother *Armes*, which is too creat *Leeke* and the *Tagger mawer anwer*.

Theſe things frends me ſharge you doe, or elt my Coſte ſhaul haunt you; So till the morrow after *Domes tay* frends ferewell. *Dew eatee whee.*

An *Epetaph* wreten py hims youngeſt taughter *Guentlen* and ingraven on the *Tombeſtone*.

Vnder this Tombeſtone lies the very ſame,
Which had ſeuen ſtile belonging to him name.
Who kild him? Teath, did Teath her father kill?
Cats ſplit had him hir Tagger & her Bill.
Not twenty Teath could kill her valiant father
Teath not kill him, put him kill Teath rather.

LONDON, Printed for *Richard Burton* at the ſigne of the Horſhooe in Smithfield. 1641.

From original in possession of Society of Antiquaries, London

APPENDIX XVIII - STATISTICAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA AND TO NEW ENGLAND FROM 1607 TO 1700 AS SHOWN CARTOGRAPHICALLY BY PAULLIN'S HISTORICAL ATLAS BASED ON 637 EMIGRANTS TO VIRGINIA WHOSE PLACE OF ORIGIN WAS DEFINITELY DETERMINED BY W. G. STANARD AND ON 1276 EMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND WHOSE PLACE OF ORIGIN WAS DEFINITELY DETERMINED BY NEW ENGLAND AUTHORITIES.

	EMIGRANTS		
Loyalist Shire	Virginia		New England
Berks	9		17
Cornwall	7		7
Cumberland	3		1
Derby	7		8
Devon	17		76
Dorset	7		36
Durham	2		0
Gloucester	44	(437)	33
Hants	12		34
Hereford	8		2
Monmouth	0		3
Northumberland	2		9
Nottingham	5		9
Oxford	6		14
Salop	2		3
Somerset	17		32
Westmorland	1		0
Wilts	15		60
Worcester	14		12
York	30		33
WALES			
Anglesey			
Brecknock	2		
Cardigan			
Carmarthen			
Carnarvon			
Denbigh	4		1
Flint			
Glamorgan			4
Merioneth			
Montgomery	1		
Pembroke	1		
Radnor			
	216		403

	EMIGRANTS	
Primary Shire	Va.	N.E.
Bedford	11	16
Buckingham	7	29
Cambridge	8	13
Cheshire	11	6
Essex	21	100
Hertford	14	42
Huntingdon	8	0
Kent	42	106
Lancaster	22	18
Leicester	7	8
Lincoln	9	32
Middlesex	6	6
Norfolk	15	125
Northampton	13	22
Rutland	1	3
Stafford	9	1
Suffolk	12	116
Surrey	9	16
Sussex	13	10
Warwick	2	16
Isle of Wight	2	0
	242	685
From LONDON	179	193

Immigration from Royalist areas to Virginia.....216 or 34%
Immigration from London to Virginia.....179 or 28%
Immigration from Parliamentary areas to Virginia242 or 38%

Immigration from Royalist areas to New England..403 or 31%
Immigration from London to New England.....193 or 15%
Immigration from Parliamentary areas to N.E.....685 or 53%

The percentages for New England, carried to three decimal places appear to be:

Royalist....31.460%
London,.....15.035%
Parliament..53.474%

TOTAL to VIRGINIA (629 from England; 8 from Wales)...637
TOTAL to NEW ENGLD.(1276 from Engld; 5 from Wales)..1281

APPENDIX XIX - ANALYSIS OF SWEM'S VIRGINIA FAMILIES FROM ENGLISH SHIRES

Royalist Shires			Parliamentary Shires	
Berks	45		Bedford	38
Cornwall	25		Buckingham	53
Cumberland	23		Cambridge	23
Derby	28		Chester	36
Devon	54		Essex	102
Dorset	23		Hertford	58
Durham	15		Huntingdon	27
Gloucester	76		Kent	169
Hants	29		Lancaster	62
Hereford	27		Leicester	19
Monmouth	7		Lincoln	61
Northumberland		16	Middlesex	126
Nottingham	15		Norfolk	61
Oxford	32		Northampton	45
Shropshire	32		Rutland	3
Somerset	65		Stafford	46
Westmorland	16		Suffolk	74
Wilts	46		Surrey	64
Worcester	42		Sussex	42
York	119		Warwick	56
	737		Isle of Wight	0
				1165

(Wales)	
Anglesey	2
Brecknock	2
Cardigan	1
Carmarthen	3
Carnarvon	1
Denbigh	1
Flint	3
Glamorgan	4
Merioneth	0
Montgomery	2
Pembroke	5
Radnor	3
	27

APPENDIX XX - ANALYSIS OF SMITH'S VIRGINIA FAMILIES FROM ENGLISH SHIRES

Inland Shires	Peripheral Shires
32	16
27	23
88	16
46	15
42	62
15	119
19	36
56	46
32	61
45	74
46	102
64	7
126	78
58	169
53	65
38	54
23	25
27	23
45	29
3	42
825	1062
Average of 41.25 per shire	Average of 53.1 per shire

Conclusion: Emigration was approximately 22% heavier from coastal areas to Virginia than from landlocked areas. If the 126 from Middlesex be added to the peripheral group, it will be seen that the percentage was, if anything, too low.

APPENDIX XXI - ORIGINS OF VIRGINIA COUNTY NAMES

Members of the Royal Family...24

Amelia, 1734
Augusta, 1738
Brunswick, 1720
Caroline, 1727
Charles City, 1634
Charlotte, 1764
Cumberland, 1748
Elizabeth City, 1634
Fluvanna, 1777
Frederick, 1738
Hanover, 1720
Henrico, 1634
James City, 1634
King & Queen, 1691
King George, 1720
King William, 1701
Louisa, 1742
Lunenburg, 1746
Mecklenburg, 1764
Orange, 1734
Prince Edward, 1753
Prince George, 1702
Prince William, 1730
Princess Anne, 1691

English Place Names...20

Bath, 1790
(Bedford), 1753
Buckingham, 1761
Essex, 1691
Gloucester, 1651
Isle of Wight, 1637
Lancaster, 1652
Middlesex, 1673
New Kent, 1654
Norfolk, 1637
Northampton, 1643
Northumberland, 1648
Richmond, 1692
Southampton, 1748
Stafford, 1664
Surry, 1652
Sussex, 1753
(Warwick), 1634
Westmoreland, 1653
York, 1643

Royal Governors..10

Arlington, 1920
Albemarle, 1744
Botetourt, 1769
Culpeper, 1748
Dinwiddie, 1752
Fauquier, 1759
Goochland, 1727
Loudoun, 1757
Spotsylvania, 1720
(Dunmore), 1772-1776

British Statesmen.9

Amherst, 1761
Bedford, 1753
Chesterfield, 1748
Fairfax, 1742
Greensville, 1780
Halifax, 1752
Pittsylvania, 1766
Rockingham, 1778
Warwick, 1634

Indian Names...9

Accomac, 1663
Alleghany, 1822
Appomattox, 1845
Nansemond, 1637
Nottoway, 1788
Powhatan, 1777
Rappahannock, 1833
Roanoke, 1838
Shenandoah, 1772

Prominent Americans..26

Bland, 1861
Buchanan, 1858
Campbell, 1781
Carroll, 1842
Clark, 1836
Craig, 1851
Dickenson, 1880
Floyd, 1831
Franklin, 1785
Giles, 1806
Grayson, 1792
Greene, 1838
Henry, 1776
Lee, 1792
Madison, 1792
Mathews, 1790
Montgomery, 1776
Nelson, 1807
Page, 1831
Patrick, 1790
Russell, 1786
Scott, 1811
Smyth, 1832
Tazewell, 1799

Prominent Foreigners.1

Pulaski, 1839

Natural Geography.3

(Bath ?)
Highland, 1847
Rockbridge, 1778

Warren, 1836
Washington, 1776
Wise, 1856
Wythe, 1789

APPENDIX XXII - VIRGINIA COUNTY NAMES WITH WEST ENGLISH AND EAST ENGLISH PLACE NAMES TRANSPLANTED TO THE NEW WORLD.

West England		East England
	VIRGINIA	
Bath, 1790 (coincidental)		Bedford, 1753
Gloucester, 1651		Buckingham, 1761
Isle of Wight, 1637		Essex, 1691
Lancaster, 1652		Middlesex, 1673
Southampton, 1748		New Kent, 1654
Stafford, 1664		Norfolk, 1637
Warwick, 1634		Northampton, 1643
Westmorland, 1653		Northumberland, 1648
		Richmond, 1692
		Surry, 1652
		Sussex, 1753
		York, 1643
6 west	TOTALS	12 east

Eastern predominate over Western English place-names occurring among Virginia counties.

APPENDIX XXIII - NEW ENGLAND COUNTY NAMES OF ENGLISH ORIGIN SHOWING DIVISION WITH REFERENCE TO EAST AND WEST ENGLAND.

West England		East England
	6 - MASSACHUSETTS - 5	
Barnstable		Norfolk
Bristol		Suffolk
Berkshire		Middlesex
Hampshire		Essex
Plymouth		Hampden
Worcester		
	3 - MAINE - 3	
Cumberland		Lincoln
Oxford		York
Somerset		Washington
	1 - NEW HAMPSHIRE - 2	
Cheshire		Grafton (also West)
		Rockingham
	1 - VERMONT - 2	
Windsor		Essex
		Rutland
	1 - RHODE ISLAND - 3	
Bristol		Kent
		Newport
		Washington
12 West	TOTALS	15 East

APPENDIX XXIV - NAMES OF LOCALITIES IN VIRGINIA AND THEIR ORIGINS

Place Names from Places in England

Abingdon *
Bayford
Bedford City
Belvoir
Berkley *
Boscobel *
Boston
Bridgewater *
Bristol *
Buckingham
Cheapside
Chester *
Cornwall *
Cromwell
Cumberland *
Derby *
Dorchester *
Dorset *
Edghill*
Eltham
Enfield
Essex Mill
Exmore *
Falmouth *
Gloucester *
Grafton *
Greenwich
Guilford
Hampton *
Hull
Isham
Isle of Wight *
Isom
Ivanhoe
Kent
Keswick *
Knightly *
Lancaster *
Leeds
Lincoln
Little Plymouth *
Littleton *
Londonbridge
Lundy *
Manchester *
Marlboro *
Milford *
Montague *
Nasbie
Newington
New Kent
New London
Norfolk
Norwood

Pennington Gap *
Penrith *
Portsmouth *
Radcliffe *
Radford *
Radford Furnace *
Raleigh *
Ravensworth
Richmond
Rockingham
Rugby (2) *
Runnymede
St. Just *
Salisbury *
Seaford
Sedley *
Severn *
Shadwell
Shelton*
Sherwood
Shirley *
Skelton *
Skipwith
Somerset *
Southampton*
S. Boston
S. Norfolk
Stafford *
Stafford's Store *
Staffordsville *
Stapleton *
Staunton *
Stockton *
Stratford *
Stratton *
Suffolk
Surry
Sussex
Sutton *
Tamworth *
Tettington *
Tipton *
Trenholm
Trenton Mills *
Warminster *
Wellington *
White Hall
Whitley *
Wickliffe
Winchester *
Windsor *
Winterham
Woburn
Woodstock *

Place Names from Places & Families in Wales

Denbigh *
Flint *
Flint Hill *
Glamorgan *
Glendower *
Griffith *
Gwynn *
Herbert *
Howell *
Jenkins Bridge*
Jenkins Ford *
Jones *
Joneeboro *
Jonesville *
Lewis *
Lewisetta *
Lewiston *
Maddux *
Meredithville *
Meriwether *
Meyrick *
Morgan *
Nicholas *
Owen *
Owens *
Owenton *
Pembroke *
Poole *
Poole *
Poolville *
Powellton *
Prease *
Price's Bluff *
Price's Fork *
Pugh *
Pughs *
Reese's *
Rice Depot *
Riceville *
Richardsville *
Rogers *
St. David's Church *
Snowden *
Vaughn *
Watkins *
Welchburg *
Welchs*
Yale *
Petersburg (for P.Jones

* indicates names from Western Britain
113 from West

APPENDIX XXV - MASSACHUSETTS PLACE NAMES OF ENGLISH AND WELSH ORIGIN.

Place names from Places in England

Abington *
Ashburnham
Barnstable *
Bedford
Bellingham
Berkley *
Berkshire *
Bernardston
Bridgewater *
Byfield
Cambridge
Carlisle *
Chatham
Chatham Port
Chelmsford
Cheshire *
Chester *
Derby *
Dartmouth *
Dover
Dunstable
Duxbury *
E. Harwich
E. Lynn
E. Sandwich
E. Sudbury
E. Taunton *
E. Weymouth *
E. Windsor *
Enfield
Essex
Falmouth *
Framingham
Gloucester *
Greenwich
Hampden
Harwich
Hingham
Hull
Huntington
Ipswich
Islington
Kendal Green *
Kingston
Lancaster *
Leeds
Leicester
Leominster *
Lincoln
Lynn
Malden
Manchester*
Marlboro*
Marston's Corner
Marston's Mills
Medway
Methuen
Middleboro
Newbury*
Norfolk
Northampton
N. Oxford*
N. Reading*
N. Rochester
N. Rutland
N. Truro *
N. Uxbridge
N. Weymouth*
N. Worcester*
Norwich
Oxford*
Pelham
Plymouth*
Plympton*
Reading*
Richmond
Rochester
Rugby*
Rutland
Salisbury*
Sandwich
Sheffield
Shrewsbury*
Somerset*
Southampton*
Stockbridge*
Sturbridge*
Sudbury
Sunderldnd
S. Acton
S. Ashburnham
S. Bellingham
S. Bolton
S. Boston
S. Byfield
S. Chatham
S. Chelmsford
S. Dartmouth *
S. Duxbury *
S. Easton
S. Egremont*
S. Essex

Place Names from Wales

Conway*
E. Pembroke*
Pembroke *
Swansea*
Wales*
S. Swansea*

S. Framingham
S. Hadley
S. Hadley Falls
S. Harwich
S. Hingham
S. Lancaster*
S. Lincoln
S. Middleboro
S. Middleton
S. Milford
S. Sandwich
S. Sherborn *
S. Stoughton
S. Truro *
S. Uxbridge *
S. Walpole
S. Wareham *
S. Westminster
S. Weymouth *
Southwick
S. Wilmington
S. Worcester*
S. Yarmouth
Taunton *
Tewksbury *
Truro *
Tyringham
Uxbridge
Walpole
Warwick *
W. Acton
W. Barnstable*
W. Bedford
W. Bridgewater *
W. Cambridge
W. Chatham
W. Chelmsford
W. Chesterfield*
W. Dudley *
W. Duxbury *
W. Falmouth*
W. Gloucester*
W. Harwich
W. Hatfield
W. Hingham
W. Leominster*
W. Lynn
W. Manchester*
W. Medway
Westminster
Westminster Depot

W. Newbury *
W. Oxford *
W. Rutland
W. Stoughton
W. Upton
W. Walpole
W. Wareham*
W. Yarmouth
Weymouth*
Winchester*
Windermere*
Windsor*
Worcester*
Yarmouth

9° East
74 West

APPENDIX XXVI - STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF BLONDS AND BRUNETS AMONG EARLY COLONISTS AND COLONISTS OF VIRGINIA BASED ON ALL EXTANT ADULT PORTRAITS REPRODUCED IN ALEXANDER W. WEDDELL'S A MEMORIAL VOLUME OF VIRGINIA HISTORICAL PORTRAITURE, 1585-1830.

Blonds	Brunets
Sir Francis Drake	
Robert Cecil	Sir Walter Raleigh
Henry Wriothesley *	Sir Richard Grenville
Lady Somers	Philip Herbert, 4th E. Pemb.
Sir Thomas Smythe	Sir George Somers
Nicholas Ferrar	George Percy
Capt. John Smith	Thomas West
Sir Thomas Gates	Henry Frederick, Prince W.
Sir Edwin Sandys	
Henry West	
Sir William Berkeley	
Capt. Bolling	Lady Berkeley
Mrs. Lee	John Page
Edward Hill II	King Charles II
Mrs. Hill	Thomas, Lord Culpeper
William Randolph	Francis Howard, Ld. Effing.
Mary Isham Randolph	Lady Howard
Matthew Page	James Blair
Edmund Jennings	Mrs. Blair
	Mary Mann Page
Hannah Harrison Ludwell	Robert Bolling
	Sir Edmund Andros
	Daniel Parke
Lucy Parke Byrd	Philip Ludwell
Robert Carter	Mann Page I
William Gooch	Judith Carter Page "Swan"
John Robinson	William Byrd II, the Black
Mann Page II	Evelyn Byrd
Thomas Lee	Judith Armistead Carter
Hannah Ludwell Lee	Alice Grymes Page
Francis Fauquier	Lewis Burwell
Sir Jeffrey Amherst	Mary Willis Burwell
Peyton Randolph	Eleanor Bowles Gooch Lewis
Carter Braxton	Warner Lewis
	Norborne Berkeley, 2d Ld.
	Wm. Nelson
	Richard Corbin
	William Byrd III
	Mary Willing Byrd
	Thomas Mann Randolph
	Frances Peyton Tabb
	Lucy Gray Briggs
	Gray Briggs
	John Page
	Jane Byrd Page
	Elizabeth Harrison Randolph

* Dark auburn hair, classed with blue eyed blonds because of hair-eye combination. Ward makes him fair-haired in St. John's College Portrait, page 156.

APPENDIX XXVII - BLONDS AND BRUNETS AMONG PROMINENT NEW ENGLANDERS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE PURITAN SETTLEMENT

Blonds	Brunets
Edward Winslow (sole Mayflower Pilgrim whose portrait remains).	John Winthrop
Samuel Sewall	Simon Bradstreet
John Endicott	
Cotton Mather	
Increase Mather	

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